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/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /
VOLUME XLVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

M. CHAMBERS

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PREFACE

THIS volume contains three groups of texts. In 3368-71 Sir Eric Turner publishes four papyri of Menander's *Misoumenos*; this publication replaces the preliminary version of two of them, printed in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 63 (1978) 315 ff. 3372-83 are papyri of Herodotus, identified and assembled in the main by Mr Lobel and by the General Editors. (Two items, 3374 and 3376, group numerous fragments collected from different parcels on the basis of the handwriting. The reader is warned of the normal hazards of this process. Some pieces may have been missed; some scraps, which have not been identified as Herodotus, may be wrongly included; some fragments, which have been so identified, may come from a different copy in similar handwriting.) Professor Chambers offered himself for the task of editing these; and he has borne the main burden of transcribing and commenting on them. Dr W. E. H. Cockle contributed much to the reading of difficult traces and the placing of smaller fragments (especially in 3376). Sir Eric Turner criticized successive drafts, and also made suggestions for the final form of the general introduction. Mr Parsons revised the resulting MS against the originals, and prepared it for the printer; he must take responsibility for any defects. 3384-429 comprise the private papers of Papnuthis and Dorotheus. This archive, which covers forty or more years in the mid fourth century AD, and allows a striking view of the Egyptian bureaucracy and the Greek language at its lower levels, has been edited by Professor John Shelton.

Professor Chambers records his thanks to Miss Catherine Perry, who assisted in the reading of proof. The General Editors are grateful to Dr Helen Cockle, for making the index to 3368-71, and to Professor Shelton, who himself indexed 3384-429; and to the managers, readers, and compositors of the Oxford University Press for their skill and cooperation.

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
*General Editors,
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

May 1981

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3368	I	3391	IV
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ^ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 16 (1978) 64-5). In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

THE inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D(3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A.B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO P'APYRI
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- I 1 *recto* 2-6. Cf. *NTS* 25 (1979) 262-72.
23-7. A new restoration in *BASP* 16 (1979) 154-7.
5. Cf. *NTS* 25 (1979) 443-53.
12. Cf. *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 78-85.
47. To be dated in the range AD 83/4-Oct./Nov., AD 88. Cf. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78-9.
49. See below on 50.
50 introd. The editors' statement that 50 is in the same hand as 49 is contradicted in P. Turner 19. 21 n., with addendum.
72 (= P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 66) 7-8. For Μάρκω Πορκίω ἐπιτυγχάνοντι ἀπόντι read Μάρκω Πορκίω Ἐπιτυγχάνοντι (= Ἐπιτυγχάνοντι) ἀπόντι, 'for Marcus Porcius Epitynchanon, who is absent'. The verb ἐπιτυγχάνω has no meaning that is relevant here, see *LSJ* s.v. For the name see D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* s.v.; add XLIV3 1978. J. R. Rea.
80 (= W. Chr. 473) 11. For Σενοκωλενώ read Σενοκώμειως. J. R. Rea (from a photograph of the original, which is at Winchester).
85. Cf. *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115-23.
133. The likelier date is 19 October, AD 550. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20-1.
134 30. For Ἰσατος read Ἰούστος.
32. For Isat(u) read Iust(u)—IUST, pap. J. R. Rea (from a photograph of the original, which is in Cairo).
135. The likelier date is 21 March, AD 579. *BASP* 17 (1980) 23.
11-12. For τῆς . . . ὑπερφυείας read τῆ . . . ὑπερφυεία. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.
137. The likelier date is 11 January, AD 584. *BASP* 17 (1980) 23.
140. The likelier date is 26 April, AD 550. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20-21.
- II 266 15. For [ἀν]αζυγήν read [δι]αζυγήν. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Sel. Pap.* I 7. 15 app.
441 ii 1-5. Identified as an anecdote about the mother of Brasidas, see *ZPE* 36 (1979) 49-50.
482 5-6. For Σεμεμελεύ read Σεκεκελεύ. J. Rowlandson; confirmed by J. R. Rea from a photograph of the original, which is in Chicago.
495 5. For ἐναντι Πέλα {Πέλα} read ἐν Ἀντιπέλα (= Ἀντιπέρα) Πέλα. *ZPE* 36 (1979) 107.
- IV 659. Cf. *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni* ii 769-88.
735 5-7. See *ZPE* 32 (1978) 260-1, which predates the note in XLVII, p. xv and should have prevented its appearance.
806 (description). Edition in *CE* 52 (1977) 316-18.
- VI 846. See *BASP* 16 (1979) 201-4.
969 1. For ἀρχεφόδωι. μετάπεμψον . . . read ἀρχεφόδωι Πέλα. πέμψον . . . *BASP* 16 (1979) 66, n. 16.
996 (description). Editions in R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 25-30; 67-78.
1002 1. Καβητ() is certain; the proposal in BL I 330 and the entry in WB II 565 s.v. *ωληνικός λέβης* are to be cancelled. P. Turner 52. 1 n.
- VII 1037 9-10. For Θώθ [τῆς παρούσης] [βα]ε[ε]λείας read perhaps Θώθ [τοῦ εἰσιόντος] ε[του]ρκα. *BASP* 16 (1979) 233 n. 13.
1047. The text mentioned in the introduction is published in full in *ZPE* 33 (1979) 237-8.

- VIII 1112. 10. For *Ἐνεμελε(ύ)* read *Ἐνεκελε(ύ)*.
13. For *Ἐνοικοθ()* read *Ἐνοσφθ(εως)*. J. Rowlandson; confirmed from a photograph.
1115. Cf. *Vig. Chr.* 32 (1978) 195-207.
- IX 1174. Cf. *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 47-52.
1176. Cf. *GRBS* 20 (1979) 187-200.
- X 1241. Cf. G. Perrotta, *Scritti Minori* ii 89-118.
v 2 ff. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 48.
1318 (description). For *(ἔτους) ιαζ και* [read and restore *(ἔτους) ιζς και ες* = AD 308/9. The date is 28 November, AD 308. *BASP* 16 (1979) 232.
- XI 1380 109-10. Cf. *JThS* n.s. 29 (1978) 147-51.
- XII 1411 11. On *πλὴν μάλιστα* see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 175-6.
1440 3. Restore *Ἐν[κα]ταπή*. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 253, 400. (Cf. XLVII, p. xvi).
1534. Cf. *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157-9.
- XV 1790. Cf. *QUCC* 31, n.s. 2 (1979) 93-9.
1798 fr. 1. 3-4. Cf. *LCM* 4 (1979) 215-16.
1802 i 9. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 198.
- XVI 1899. On the date see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 50 and n. 1.
1905. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 185-95.
1970. The likelier date is 8 June, AD 554. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20.
1972. The likelier date is 22 July, AD 560. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20.
1974. The date is AD 538, not 499. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 123 (under AD 538).
1979 (description). Read *παρὰ τῆ ὑμε[τ]έ[ρα]* e.g. *ὑπερφυεία*. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.
1981. The likelier date is 25 October, AD 612. *BASP* 17 (1980) 24.
16-17. Read perhaps *παγαρχουμ(ένης) παρὰ τοῦ ὑμ(ών) [ἐν]δόξου οἴκου*. *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* IV 193 n. 4.
1986. The likelier date is 29 October, AD 549. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.
1997 4. For *γ ὑ[π]έρ [τῆς? τ]ετάρτης* read and restore *γ ἄρ[χ(ῆ) τῆς τ]ετάρτης*. *BASP* 17 (1980) 10.
- XVIII 2185 19. For *[οὔ]αι(α)* read perhaps *[οὔ]αι(ακή)*; sc. *γῆς* or *προσόδου*. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.
- XIX 2238. The likelier date is 7 August, AD 551. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.
2242. Cf. *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157-9.
- XXII 2327. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.
2347. Cf. *BASP* 15 (1978) 225-6.
- XXIII 2370. Cf. *CQ* n.s. 28 (1978) 396-7.
- XXIV 2399. Cf. *Historia* 26 (1977) 51-9; *ZPE* 39 (1980) 63-71.
2411 48. For *παρ[εδ]όθη* read *παρ[ετ]έθη*. D. Hagedorn by letter; confirmed from the original.
2420 11. Read probably *παρά* with the dative. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.
12. For *σα...* [read and restore perhaps *παγαρχο[υ]μένης*. *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* IV 194.
- XXV 2430. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.

- XXVI 2443 fr. 1+3213. Cf. *ZPE* 32 (1978) 36-8.
2447 fr. 38. Cf. *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzone* i 127-55.
- XXVII 2452. Cf. *Mus. Helv.* 36 (1979) 136-41.
2455 fr. 107. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 7-14.
2464. Cf. *Riv. fil. class.* 105 (1977) 273-84.
2478 12. For *τῆς . . . ὑπερφυείας* read *τῆ . . . ὑπερφυεία*. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.
2479. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 246-8.
- XXVIII 2483. A false join of fragments is corrected in P. Turner 1. 55-65 n. Lines i 9 and ii 1 cease to exist; therefore i 10 follows directly on i 8.
- XXXI 2579 3. For discussion of the date see *BES* 1 (1979) 12.
- XXXII 2617¹. Cf. *AeR* 23 (1978) 83-7; 24 (1979) 41-3.
2619 ^{(16)b+30+31}. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 65-71.
2623. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.
^{21(a)+22}. Cf. *Dionysiaca. Nine Studies in Greek Poetry Presented to Sir Denys Page* 1-20.
- XXXIII 2673 22. For *χαλκῆν ὕλην* (corr. from *πύλην* in *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128), cf. now P. Col. VII 141. 23-33, which constitute a receipt for three amounts in pounds and ounces of *χαλκῆς χυτῆς ὕλης*. The editor translated this as 'poured copper material', which became 'cast bronze' in the introduction, p. 52, in the table on p. 53, and in the note on 26-7. It might have been either copper or bronze, i.e. copper alloyed with tin, but not both. The wording indicates that it was cast copper which needed further refining: *χαλκῆς χυτῆς ὕλης, μὴ δοθείσης ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῆς ἀνακαθάρεως ἕως ὅτου περὶ τούτου κελευσθῆ* (27-8). The translation runs, 'of poured copper material not given by you for the cleansing at the time when it was ordered'. The genitive absolute clause seems rather to mean, 'no contribution for refining being made by you until orders concerning this matter are issued'.
- XXXV 2737. Cf. *Rhein. Mus.* n.f. 121 (1978) 19-34.
¹ ii. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 59-63.
2740. Cf. *Archiv* 27 (1980) 37-47.
2744. Cf. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 9-12; 36 (1979) 55-6.
2746. Cf. B. Gentili, *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* 61-87; *MPhL* 3 (1978) 139-41.
- XXXVI 2780 5. For the indiction number β read α. The date 16 July, AD 553 is correct. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.
- XXXVII 2806. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 1-5.
2819 5-9. Cf. *ZPE* 36 (1979) 63-4.
- XXXVIII 2825 fr. B col. ii. *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 58-68.
2826 21-6. Cf. *Riv. fil. class.* 106 (1978) 396-7.
- XXXIX 2890. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 91-6; *ZPE* 33 (1979) 47-56.
- XLI 2946. Cf. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 57-74.
2972 3. The sellers appear again as taxpayers in XLIV 3163. J. E. G. Whitehorne, by letter.
- XLII 3010. Cf. *CP* 72 (1977) 22-31.
3051 7. For *Ἐνεκ[ε]ανῆς* read *Ἐνεκάνῆς*. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 13 n. 45. Cf. XLV p. xviii.
- XLIII 3097. Cf. *BASP* 16 (1979) 209-10.
3111 introd. p. 55, penult. para. Delete 'up the Nile'; the boat may more probably have travelled along the Tomis river. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 143.

- XLIV 3160. Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* 273-9.
 3163 6. For Διον() read Διον(υείου). Mnesithéus (/es) and Dionysius, sons of Theon, are the sellers in XLI 2972 3. J. E. G. Whitehorne, by letter.
 3204 3. For τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] ἡμῶν read and restore τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσε[β] (εστάτου)—εὐσε[β] pap.—ἡμῶν. *BASP* 17 (1980) 10. Cf. XLVII, p. xix.
- XLV 3214 10-14. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 169-72.
 3239 37. For ξείνη read ξ[υ]λήνη. *CE* 54 (1979) 159.
 3253 17. On μάλινα see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 176.
- XLVI 3285 9-10; 22-3. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 61-2.
 3286. This is perhaps the earliest document which shows that the gymnasiarchy had become compulsory. *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 316.
 3296. Cf. *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 316-17.
 3302 6. On μάλινα see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 176.
 3304 5. Supply perhaps γενόμενος before εστάτης. *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 317.
 3311 5 n. On ἀποτακτικός see now *Jahrb. für Antike u. Christentum* 20 (1977) 72-89, esp. 85-6 and 89, 'an urban category of monks'.
- XLVII 3319. Cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 63-6.
- XLVIII 3406 8 n. If οκτωπλυθον (acc.) is correctly recognized as representing δπόπλυθον, it is possible that P. Strassb. I 66 is a receipt for a brick tax. Payment is made ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκτου πλείθου (7-8) to μισθωταὶ πλείθου νομοῦ, cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 281, 310. An unidentified hand has annotated the margin of the Ashmolean copy of P. Strassb. I with ' = πλυθου?' J. R. Rea.
- P. Oxy. Hels. I.¹ Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 156-7.
 23. 24-5. Read ἐλογησοῦν ἡγάμην. D. Hagedorn, by letter; confirmed from the original.
- P. Ant. I 42. The date is discussed in *BASP* 16 (1979) 225-6 and the document is assigned to 26 September, AD 557.
- P. Fay. 37. 2. For Β[ακχ]ύλος read perhaps β[ου]κρόλος. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 211-12.
 60. 5. For μισθ(ωτή?) read μισθ(ώσεως). G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.
 82. 14-15. For Ἀδριανῆ[ς] and μισθ() read Λουριανῆ[ς] and μισθ(ώσεως). G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.
 111. 22-4. Read perhaps [καὶ] τάξον εἰς [τῆ]ν Cέν|[θεως] ἐργάτην χρῆλ[ον] (sic; for χλωρόν) λιμνάζειν. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 87.
 359 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 138.
 362 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 132.
 364 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 135.
 365 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 133.
 366 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 132.
- P. Tebt. I 131 (description). Edition and plate in *ZPE* 41 (1981) 263-9, Taf. XVI.
 II 385. 2 For Παῦ[νι] read Παρ[θικου]. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 132.
 450 (description). Edition in *BASP* 15 (1978) 207-12.
 584 (description). Edition in *BASP* 15 (1978) 212-16.
 609 (f). After Πτολεμαίου read [Κ]ρ[ο]ν[ίου]. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.
 III. 1 703. Cf. *Archiv* 27 (1980) 67-77.

¹ P. Oxy. Hels. was not published by the Egypt Exploration Society, but since the papyri edited in it belong to the Oxyrhynchus series it has been decided to include references to the volume in this section.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3368-3371. MENANDER, *Μισούμενος*

Three of these four texts are identifiable with certainty as parts of Menander, *Misoumenos*, and 3371 probably is a book-title of this play, not another (see 3371 1 n.). Taken together they offer a firm foundation for the first hundred verses of the play. A minimal transcription, commentary, and elucidation of two of them (3368, 3369) has already been published in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 63 (1978) 315-31. The present publication fulfils the promise there made to give fuller details. It offers a separate palaeographic account and diplomatic transcript of each of the new texts, including two (3370, 3371) previously only alluded to briefly. A new transcript of PIFAO inv. 89 based on the photographs is attempted. Plates are given of the four new papyri. An articulated version based on the combined evidence of the papyri and the quoted fragments is attempted, with a commentary on a more generous scale than was possible in *Proc. BA* loc. cit. Publication numbers supersede the sigla employed there:

3368 = O19

3369 = O20

3370 = O21

3371 = O22.

As there, the verse numbers have been prefixed by A, and these numbers have been added for convenience also in the diplomatic transcripts.

This edition has benefited from study at a seminar held in the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London in autumn 1977, and from individual criticisms and suggestions, especially from my fellow editors. Where it differs from the provisional text, this edition should be considered to embody my second thoughts. Scholars frequently cited by initial are tabulated below.

C.A. = Colin Austin	H.Ll.-J. = H. Lloyd-Jones
W.S.B. = W. S. Barrett	P.J.P. = P. J. Parsons
W.E.H.C. = W. E. H. Cockle	J.R.R. = J. R. Rea
A.H.G. = A. H. Griffiths	F.H.S. = F. H. Sandbach
E.W.H. = E. W. Handley	M.L.W. = M. L. West

I should like to repeat the warning that where square brackets are shown in the diplomatic transcript without intervening dot, thus [], the intention is to show a tear, hole, or stripped surface where no writing need have been lost.

[The publication in *Proc. B.A.* has now been reviewed by P. G. McC. Brown in *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 3-6. I comment on some of the points there raised in *CdE* 54 (1979) 1-26.]

III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

3384-3429. THE ARCHIVE OF PARNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

The following group of papyri once belonged to the papers of two brothers named Parnuthis and Dorotheus, the sons of Aphynchis and Maria.¹ From one contract (3389), one receipt (3395), and two petitions (3393-4) we know that they belonged to the class of Aurelii, though that name is always omitted in the numerous letters and orders addressed to them. They were residents of the nome capital, where their father Aphynchis had owned some property (3384),² but their employment as collectors of taxes and managers of estates required that some portion of their time also be spent in the countryside. Both the brothers wrote fluently, though with a striking disregard for rules of spelling and grammar, and their mother may also have known how to read and write, as the one letter that we have in her name appears to be autograph (3403). Their father Aphynchis, on the other hand, required a signatory to sign a contract for him (3386).

The earliest dated text in the archive was written in AD 331 (3384), the latest in 371 (3395), but there are grounds for placing the undated 3415 in AD 376 (see introd. there), and some documents may be still later than that. The earliest text mentioning either brother is 3388, from late in AD 342. At that time Parnuthis was already serving as farm caretaker for one Sarapammon, by whom he was instructed to deliver seed grain to a tenant. The next year he acted as signatory for a woman who wished to appoint Aphynchis to represent her in some business before the *praeses Augustamnicae* (3389, the latest text in which Aphynchis is known to have been alive).³ His hand was then of professional quality.

There follows a period of fifteen years in which we have no datable papyrus from the archive. Some of the correspondence and lists may belong to this time, but we have no way of knowing. By AD 358, however, Parnuthis was in public or semi-public service: a group of notaries who address him as 'brother' order him to disburse some money to a confectioner on the staff of the strategus (3390). He had, then, a position of some financial responsibility, but it is hard to say whether he was directly employed by the notaries, the strategus, the city council, or someone else.

¹ Parnuthis' name is inflected with *-ov* in the genitive and *-ω* in the dative, but the nominative is always Παρνούθις (3394 20, 3395 5, 3398 2, 3399 2, 3402 2) or Παρνούτρις (3389 20, 3397 2, 3400 1). I presume that his father's name was declined in the same way, though the nominative ending only appears once (Αφύγκις, 3384 3).

² He may have given up possession of this house later, as he appears as a tenant in 3386. Dorotheus and Parnuthis claim to be wholly without property in 3393 13-14.

³ It would be unsafe to draw chronological conclusions from the fact that Aphynchis had himself used a different signatory, not one of his sons, in AD 338 (3386): it might be that they were both still too young then, but they might also have been away on business or unavailable for some other reason.

A year and a half later, in AD 360, Parnuthis was serving as assistant, *βοηθός*, to a *praepositus pagi* named Horion (3391). A few months later Dorotheus comes into our records for the first time, as assistant for the same *praepositus* (3392), and so far as one can tell the two brothers continued to work together under changing employers to the end of our documentation. By AD 365 they were in the service of Eulogius, possibly another *praepositus pagi*, whose ill-treatment of them is the subject of 3393. The third employer that we know of was one Diogenes, whose position is uncertain, but who could well also have been a *praepositus* (3415-16). Diogenes is probably the latest of these three employers: AD 376 is a likely *floruit* (3415 introd.).¹

As *βοηθοί*, Parnuthis and Dorotheus were expected to perform such routine tasks as disbursing money and foodstuffs to other members of the staffs of the *praepositus* and his superiors (3391, 3405, 3414; cf. 3425), but the duty which most occupies their correspondence was the collection of taxes, both in money and in kind. They were evidently responsible for collecting all the dues from a given geographic area: we hear of Terythis (3393), Berky (3400), Psobthis (3408), Satyru (3408, 3410, 3423), Tampemu (3409-10, 3423), and, as if it were no more than an Oxyrhynchite village, the Cynopolite nome (3423 12 with n., 3410). We do not know whether the brothers were responsible for all these places at the same time, but that seems to be the case for the last four at least.

A remarkable practice which emerges from the correspondence printed here is the custom Dorotheus and Parnuthis followed in paying out of their own funds and in advance taxes that were due from the villages under them, sometimes even borrowing money in order to do this (3397 introd.). They expected to recover these advances from the villagers themselves, either directly or through the comarchs. The tone of 3393 suggests that this expectation would normally be met (cf. 3396 introd.). They had, indeed, very considerable support: armed guards who stood at their disposal are mentioned frequently in the archive (cf. 3399, 3402, 3408-9, 3416, 3419), use of soldiers is considered in 3400, and the prison in the nome capital could apparently be used without the time-consuming preliminaries of a trial (cf. e.g. 3397 and 3409). At the same time, there was an effort to be fair (3417, 3420), and it is only natural if we hear more often of instances of injustice than of the times when all went smoothly.

It is a curious fact that many of the taxes which rested on the peasantry in fourth-century Egypt could not in practice very well have been paid by peasants. The average peasant is not likely to have owned gold or uncoined silver for the levies made of these metals and the taxes paid in them, nor usually to have been in a position to buy for himself the small amounts of them which were due on a few aruras of land. Instead, even for such taxes as *χρυσός τιρώνων*, the peasant might pay small change which would then be used by the collector to purchase the solidi that had to be turned over to the government (3424 9 n., 3401). This was part of Parnuthis' and Dorotheus' job:

¹ It is also possible that one Chaeremon employed Dorotheus, if not both brothers, but this is by no means sure; see 3408 introd. None of the texts which mention Chaeremon can be dated closely.

they functioned not only as tax collectors, but as business mediators between the state and the peasant.¹ There were apparently ample opportunities for profit, and the task of collecting taxes from an entire village, though it must have been arduous, was clearly coveted (cf. e.g. 3393).

Papnuthis, Dorotheus, and most of their correspondents write vigorous, expressive Greek letters which are of no less interest for the language than for the history of the period. Papnuthis takes the only important business trip mentioned (3396) and is the most frequently mentioned figure of the archive, so he may have been older than Dorotheus.

So far as the religion of any persons in these papers can be determined, they are without exception Christians (3396-7, 3407, 3417, 3418 (?), 3421).

The papyri published here were discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in the course of their fifth excavation season at Behnesa, in 1905/6. A few pieces that have already been published elsewhere belong with some probability to the same group, though the names Papnuthis and Dorotheus are so common that it is not safe to rely on them for identifications. Nonetheless, P. Osl. III 162 has every appearance of being part of the archive. P. Osl. III 88 was probably written by the Chaeremon of 3408-10 (the end of 37 can be read π(αρά) Χα[ρήμωνος], but the recipient is apparently not Dorotheus or Papnuthis: the editors' Ε]ϋδωρ[ω] remains the likeliest reading. SB V 7756 is a tax receipt signed by a *praepositus* Eulogius, who may be the Eulogius of 3393 and some other texts of the collection cited there. XII 1588 is too early to be part of the archive.

I have placed the dated texts first in chronological order, whatever their nature, followed by correspondence and lists; I have further included a very few other contemporary texts from the same milieu, when they tended to cast light on questions raised by the archive proper. It is likely that all the undated items fall roughly between AD 345 and 380, and most of them between 360 and 375.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following shortened references have been used:

Gignac, *Phonology*. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. i, *Phonology*. Milan, 1976.

Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*. A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*. Princeton, 1949.

Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*. J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*. Munich, 1958.

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382)*. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres, LVII, 2. Brussels, 1964.

¹ The problem of seeing that each peasant paid his share toward the contribution of clothing, mules, and the like was similar and was no doubt similarly handled. This is perhaps not quite the 'clubbing together' of the humbler taxpayers that A. H. M. Jones speaks of (*LRE* i 65), but the end effect would have been very much the same.

Mandilaras, *The Verb*. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*. Athens, 1973.

3384. LEASE OF A HOUSE

44 5B.63/(50-53)a

10 × 11 cm

14 April 331

Aurelius Aphynchis leases a house to Aurelia Maria for a period of three years at a rent the amount of which is lost. The mother of Dorotheus and Papnuthis was also named Maria, so it is possible that Aphynchis later married his one-time lessee, but the name was very common in Christian Egypt and there are no other grounds for supposing an identification. Seven years later Aphynchis himself appears as the lessee of half a house in a different quarter of the city (3386). The basic study of comparable documents remains A. Berger, 'Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri', *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Rechtswissenschaft* 29 (1913) 321-415; see further H. Braunert, *Festschrift Oertel* 34-46 and P. Yale 69 introd.

The back contains a few letters written across the fibres: .απειος.

ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου
 Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) ἐπάρχων, Φαρμουῦθι υἱ.
 ἐμίκθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Ἀφύγχις Ὄρου ἀπὸ τῆς
 λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλία
 5 Μαρία Παθερμουτίου μη(τρὸς) Ἀττίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 πόλεως ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄν-
 τος μηνὸς Φαρμουῦθι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους
 κε ιε ζ' τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
 πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Μυροβαλάνου δλόκλη-
 10 ρον οἰκίαν καὶ ξῆριον καὶ αὐλήν καὶ κατὰ-
 κιον {καὶ} σὺν χρηστηρίων καὶ ἀνηκόντων
 πάντων καὶ τελέειν ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου κατὰ μῆ-
 να ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς Φαρμουῦθι
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους κε ιε ζ' ἀ[ργυ]ρίου
 15] . [

1 ὑπατείας, φλαουίου 3 αφυγχις; c corrected from ν 4 οξυρυχιτων 5 μηδ ατ'τίας
 10 l. αἰθριον, κατὰγειον 12 l. τελέειν

The consulship of Iunius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the prefects, *virī clarissimi*, Pharmuthi 19. Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Aurelia Maria, daughter of Pathermutius and Attia, from the same city, for a period of three years from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 25, 15, 7 the whole house, court-yard, side-court, and cellar which belong to him in the same city in the Myrobalanus Quarter, together with

all appurtenances and belongings; and she shall pay for rent each month from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 25, 15, 7 . . . in silver . . .'

1 For 'Ιουλίου as against 'Ιουλίου in *WB* and Degraasi's *Fasti consolari* see XLIV 3195 1 n. The Cologne papyrus there referred to has since been published in *ZPE* 10 (1973) 139 ff.; add P. Strasb. 149 as corrected in BL V p. 133. The restoration in P. Lugd.-Bat. II 9(b). 9 should be changed accordingly.

8 and 14 Year 25 of Constantine I, 15 of Constantine II, and 7 of Constantius was AD 330/1. See XIV 1632 9 n.; cf. 3385 4 n.

10 ἔθριον: see P. Chantraine, 'Grec αἰθριον', in *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 7-15.

11 The ν of *χρηστηρίων* is badly blotted. For *cón* with the genitive cf. E. Maysers, *Grammatik* II, 2, p. 367; *LSJ* s.v., P. Col. VII 166. 8-10 n.

3385. ORDER TO DELIVER WINE

44 5B.60/C(12-13)a

23 × 10 cm

9 November 336

An order in standard form to deliver three ceramia of wine to one Aphynchius, who may or may not be the father of Papnuthis and Dorotheus. Similar texts in this volume are 3387 and 3388.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Ἀμμωνίωνος Σαραπά χ(αίρειν).

παράσχεε Ἀφυνγίω ὦν τὴν τιμὴν ἐλογισάμην αὐτῷ οἴνου κεράμια

τρία. ἔρρωσθαί με εὖχομαι.

(ἔτους) λαζ κας υγς δς βς, Ἀθὺρ ιγ'.

'From Ammonion to Sarapas, greeting. Supply Aphynchius with three ceramia of wine, the price of which I have charged to him. I pray for your health. Year 31, 21, 13, 4, 2, Hathyr 13.'

4 The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantius, Constans, and Dalmatius. The same years are found in I 92 4 as corrected by A. Chastagnol, 'La datation par années régionales égyptiennes à l'époque constantinienne' in *Aidon* (*Caesardunum X bis*, Paris, 1976) 221-37 at p. 237 n. 3; *Talanta* 8-9 (1977) 104; and presumably SB VI 9191 = 9270, which has been thought to leave either the reign of Constantine I or that of Constantine II out of account, but which much more probably follows the pattern of the other texts with λαζ καί] κας καὶ ιγ' καὶ δ' καὶ βς in l. 9 (the original has been inspected by Dr Coles). The most recent study of such dates is in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, 1978 = *Studia Amstelodamensia* VIII) 36-40; cf. the same authors' *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (*BASP* Suppl. 2; 1979), 41.

3386. LEASE OF HALF A HOUSE

44 5B.63/(30-32)a

13.5 × 25.5 cm

28 March 338

Aurelius Aphynchis leases for two years, at a rent of twenty talents per year, half a house which is owned in common by four persons whom I have not been able to identify elsewhere, though they clearly belong to the most prestigious classes of Oxyrhynchus. Cf. 3384.

The back is blank.

ὑπατεία[ς] Φλ[αο]νίων Οὔρσου καὶ Πολεμείου

τῶν λαμπροτάτων.

Φλ[αου]οῖς Ἀφθονίω Φλαβιανοῦ γυμ(νασιαρχ) βουλ(ευτή)

κα[ὶ] Ἀσυ]γκριθίω θυγ(ατρί) Ἀχιλλέως γενομένου

5 διασημοτάτω καὶ Ἀμμ[ω]νίω καὶ Ἑλλαδίω υἱοῖς
Ἀμμωνίου γενομ(ένου) βο[υ]λ(ευτοῦ) τῆς λαμπροτάτης
Ἀλεξανδρίας

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφυνγίου ὠρου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς)

καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. ἐκουσίως

10 ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη

δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθι

τοῦ ἐνακτώτος λβς' κβ) ιδς ες" τὸ ὑπάρχον

ὑμῖν καθ' ὃ ἔ[κα]ςτος ἔχει μέρος ἐν τῇ

αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου

15 [Ν]εμεσίου ὑπὸ [τ]ῆν ἀπηλιωτικὴν τῆς

πόλεως [ς]τοῦ <ν> ε ληρ() ἡμῶν μέρος οἰκία[ς]

καὶ καταγίου σὺν [χρ]η[ς]τηρίοις πᾶσι, ἐνοικίου

κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρί[ου] ταλά]ντων (m. 2) εἴκοσι,

(γίνεται) (τάλαντα) κ μόνα, (m. 1) βεβαιουμένη[ς]

20 δ' ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς ἐπάναγκαις ἀποδώσω

τὸ ἐνοίκιον κατ' ἔτος ἀκυλάντως καὶ μετὰ

τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω τὸ ἡμῶν μέρος τῆς

οἰκίας ἀπὸ κ[ο]πρίων καὶ δέσης πάσης καὶ

ἂς ἐὰν παραλάβω θύρας καὶ κλείς {ἀποτίσω}

25 ἢ οὐ ἐὰν μὴ παραδῶ ἐκ[τ]ίω τὴν ἀξίαν τιμῆ<ν>.

κυρία ἢ ἐπιδοχῆ καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθ(εῖς) ὠμολόγησα.

ὑπατείας τῆς προ[ο]κ(ειμένης), Φαρμοῦθι β".

(m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Ἀφυνγ[ι]ς μεμίσθωμαι τὸ ἡμῶν

[μ]έρος τῆς οἰκία[ς] καὶ ἀ[πο]δώσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον

30 ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμμων ἔγραψα

ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης.

1 ὑπα- 4 φ in Ἀσυ]γκριθίω corr. from η 5 l. διασημοτάτου 8 αφυν'χιου; 2nd
v corrected from ε 9 οξυρυγ'χιτων 12 l. ἐνεκτώτος; ὑπαρχῶ 13 ὑμῶν; l. ἔχει
20 l. ἐπάναγκες 21 l. ἀκυλάντως 23 l. δέσης 28 l. ἡμῶν 29 l. οἰκίας

'The consulship of Flavius Ursus and Flavius Polemius, *viri clarissimi*. To Flavius Aphthonius, son of Flavianus, (former?) gymnasiarch, councillor; and Flavia Asyncrithion, daughter of Achilles,

erstwhile holder of the perfectissimate; and Flavius Ammonion and Flavius Helladius, sons of Ammonius, late councillor of the most glorious Alexandria; from Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I willingly undertake to lease for a period of two years from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 32, 22, 14, 5 the half of a house and cellar which belong to you in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites in the Nemeseum Quarter under the East Stoa according to the share which each owns . . . , together with all appurtenances, for the annual rent of (2nd hand) twenty (1st hand) silver talents, (2nd hand) total 20 talents only, (1st hand) and if this undertaking is secured to me I shall of necessity deliver the rent each year in full, and after the period I shall turn over the half house free of dirt and all filth, as well as such doors and keys as I have received, or, if I fail to turn them over, I shall pay their fair value. The undertaking is valid and when asked the formal question I so replied. Pharmuthi 2 of the consulship stated above. (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Aphynchis, have leased the half house and I shall pay the rent as stated. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, have written for him, as he is illiterate.'

3 Both *γυμ(νασιάρχῳ)* and *γυμ(νασιάρχῆσαντι)* are possible; cf. XIV 1662 2 and XVII 2137 3-4.

4-5 *γενομένου διασημοτάτω* (l. -ου): the meaning appears to be that Achilles had before his death held all the municipal *ἀρχαί* at Oxyrhynchus and thereby earned the rank of *vir perfectissimus*. See XLVI 3297 1 n.

12 Possibly the strokes after one or more of the regnal years should be interpreted as (*ἔτος*), but as they do not appear to differ from the strokes used simply to mark numerals elsewhere in the archive, and *ἔτος* was omitted in XIV 1632 9, it may be that the word was felt to be superfluous in this context. Year 32 of Constantine I, 22 of Constantine II, 14 of Constantius, and 5 of Constans was AD 337/8. In P. Collect. Youtie II 82 = XLV 3266 11 (13 August 337), when this year still lay in the future, the dating formula added the prospective year 3 of the younger Dalmatius. That has been dropped here, so his death was (not surprisingly) known in Oxyrhynchus by this time.

15-16 The Eastern Stoa of Oxyrhynchus was already known from XVII 2109 9-10, 30-1, and PUG 22. 10-11. The city also had a Southern Stoa, XVI 1966 13; cf. *τὴν στοάν* without further designation in P. Mert. II 76. 14. The following traces are not simply *ὀλόκληρον(ον)* (the phrase *ὀλόκληρον ἡμῖν μέρος* is attested; cf. PSI VI 707. 8-9). Neither *ἀπὸ* (or *ἀπτι*) *ὀλοκλήρον(ον)* nor *δικ(αίω) κληρ(ονομικῶ)* seems satisfactory.

18-19 The original rent, no longer legible but occupying about twice as much space as the present text, was washed out and replaced with 20 talents.

30 The hand of Aurelius Sarapammon here is probably not that of 3387-8.

3387. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAMUTAIS

44 5B.63/(68-69)a

17 × 9.5 cm

9 May 342

One Pamutais, otherwise unknown, is to send wine to Tampemu for Sarapammon and his household. It is likely that Papnuthis, as *προνοητής* for Sarapammon (3388), was Pamutais' superior, so he may have acquired this chit in controlling the latter's records.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Σαραπάμμωνος Παμουταί ἀμ(πελουργῶ) χ(αίρειν).
παράσχεε εἰς ἡμετέραν ὑπηρεσίαν διὰ Ἀπφοῦτος
φερόμενόν μοι εἰς Ταμπεμὸν οἴνου σπάθιον ἓν,
(γίνεται) οἴ(νου) σ(πά)θ(ιον) α μόν(ον). ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

5

(ἔτους) λζς" ιης" ἔνατον, Παχῶν ιδ".

4 | ο⁺ c^θ

5 | 1. ἐνάτου

3387. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAMUTAIS

'From Sarapammon to Pamutais, vine-worker, greeting. Furnish for our supplies, through Apphus, one spathion of wine to be brought to Tampemu for me, total 1 spathion of wine only. I pray for your health. Year 36, 18, 9, Pachon 14.'

1 The name *Παμουτάς* is not found in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

5 (*ἔτους*) λζς" ιης" ἔνατον: a good example of the avoidance of the numeral *θ* in dating clauses: see A. U. Stylow and J. D. Thomas in *Chiron* 10 (1980) 537-51. I have expanded the year symbol in the genitive as usual and assumed that *ἔνατον* is error for *ἐνάτου*, but it may be rather that *ἔνατον* is correct and the whole date is a detached nominative. The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Constantius, and Constans, of whom only the last two were alive at the time of this document. For the type of dating see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 36-40.

3388. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(9-12)a

20 × 8 cm

27 November-26 December 342

An order to provide a tenant with seed corn, written in the same hand as 3387.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Σαραπάμμωνος Παπνουτίῳ προνοητῆ χ(αίρειν).

παράσχεε Ἡλία γεωργῶ εἰς κατασπορὰν κύτου μέτρῳ [ἀρτά-]

3 *βας πέντε, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ε μό(ναι). ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπάμμων*

[*σεση(μείωμαι).*]

4

(ἔτους) λζς' ιθς' ι', Χοί[*ακ*]

'From Sarapammon to Papnuthis, caretaker, greeting. Supply the cultivator Elias for sowing with five artabas of wheat by the . . . measure, = 5 art. wheat only. I, the same Sarapammon, have signed. Year 37, 19, 10, Choiak . . .'

3 For this way of signing an order cf. e.g. VII 1057 4, XLV 3262 7. PSI VII 784. 4 shows that the verb should be expanded in the first person just as in signatures without *αὐτός*.

4 The reigns are the same as in 3387 5.

3389. APPOINTMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE

44 5B.63/(58-59)a

12 × 24 cm

14 March 343

One Aurelia Apia authorizes Aphynchis to represent her in a legal case of unspecified nature before the *praeses Augustammicae* Flavius Olympius. Aphynchis' son Papnuthis signs for the illiterate Apia in a hand of professional quality, but with the disregard of spelling and grammar that is typical of his other known productions. In form the document is comparable to that cited in P. Lips. 38 i 4-6 (= MChr 97 and Meyer, Jur. Pap. 91); cf. L. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri* (Leipzig, 1906; reprint Aalen, 1966) 122-56. The case itself has left no further reflection in the archive that I can detect.

The back is blank, except for stray ink.

ὑπατείας Φρουρίου Πλακίδου τοῦ λαμπρο-
τάτου ἐπάρχου ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ
Φλαοῦντος Ῥωμυλλοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,

Φαμενώθ ιη— .

- 5 Ἀυρηλία Ἀπία καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει ἀπὸ
τῆς Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως Ἀυρηλίῳ
Ἀφυγγίῳ ὄνρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-
λεως χαίρειν. ἐντέλλομαι σοὶ καὶ ἐπι-
τρέπω κατὰ τὸδε μου τὸ ἐντολικὸν
10 τὴν ἐντυχία[ν] ποιῆσασθαι ἐξ ὀνόμα-
τός μου παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ δια-
σημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Φλαυίῳ
Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τὰ προσόντα μοι
δίκαια παραθέσθαι ὡς κάμοι παρού-
15 σῃ ἕξεσθαι. κυρία ἢ ἐντολή ἀπλή
γραφείσα ἦν καὶ ἐξεδόμην σοὶ καὶ ἐπε-
ρωτηθεῖσα ὠμολόγησα.

- (m. 2) Ἀυρηλία Ἀπία πεποιήμαι τὴν ἐντολήν
ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῶν προκείμενοις καὶ ἐπερωτητῆς
20 ὠμολόγησα. Ἀυρηλίος Παπνοῦτις
Ἀφυγγίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ ἅψ τῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰ-
δότος.

19 l. πᾶσι, ἐπερωτηθεῖσα 20 l. ὠμολόγησα 21-2 l. εἰδυίας

'Consulship of Frurius [sic] Placidus, *vir clarissimus, praefectus sacro praetorio*, and of Flavius Romulus, *vir clarissimus*, Phamenoth 18. Aurelia Apia and however she is styled from the city of the Oxyrhynchites to Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the same city, greeting. I instruct and empower you according to this note of authorization to lay a petition in my name before my lord the *praeses* Flavius Olympius, *vir perfectissimus*, and to present my claims just as is permitted to me in person. The authorization, written in a single copy which I have turned over to you, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I so declared. (2nd hand) I, Aurelia Apia, have made the authorization according to all the above terms and in reply to the formal question I so declared. I, Aurelius Papnuthis, son of Aphynchis, wrote on her behalf, as she is illiterate.'

1 Φρουρίου: cf. P. Abinn. 46.9 ὑπατεία]ς Φρουρίου Πλακίδου κτλ. Numerous other sources, however, agree that the name was Furius rather than Frurius: see *PLRE* I p. 705 and add to the references given there *ZPE* 8 (1971) 222, text b, l. 5 and 223, c, l. 2. A further new papyrus (*ibid.*, text d, l. 3) omits the name, and *ZPE* 20 (1976) 158 l. 15 is damaged at the relevant point.

5 Ἀπία: here one might hesitate between Ἀπία and Ἀπία, but only Ἀπία can be read in l. 18.
12-13 Fl. Olympius is no. 2 in the list of *praesides Augustamnicae* drawn up by J. Lallemand in *L'Administration civile*, citing SB VI 9622 from 6 April 343.

3390. ORDER FROM PATAS AND ASSOCIATES TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(50-53)b

11 × 9 cm

14 July 358

A group of *νομικοί*, or perhaps *νομικάριοι*, instruct Papnuthis in remarkably bad Greek to pay ninety myriads of denarii to the strategus' pastry-cook. This is the earliest datable text in which either of the brothers appears in a public or semi-public role.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

Πατᾶς ἑκαὶ κοι(ωνοὶ) νομικ(οὶ) Παπνουθίῳ ἀδ(ε)λφ(ῶ)
χαίρειν.

- δὸς Ἱέρακος βασιλάτ(ος) τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ εἰς ἡμῶν λόγου
5 δηναρίου μυριάδας ἐρενήκοντα,
(δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) ρ μόνας.
(ἔτους) λδς' γ", Ἐπειφ κ. Πατᾶς σεση(μείωμαι).

3 δὸς corrected from δὲς; l. Ἱέρακι πασιλλᾶτι 4 l. λόγον 5 l. δηναρίων, ἐρενήκοντα 6 ✕ □

'Patas and associate notaries (?) to our brother Papnuthis, greeting. Give Hierax, confectioner of the strategus, on our account ninety myriads of denarii, 90 myr. den. only. Year 34 = 3, Epeiph 20. I, Patas, have signed.'

1 *νομικός* had a wide range of meanings, from professional *iurisconsulti* to *tabelliones*, scribes with sufficient legal knowledge to draw up correct contracts between private persons; see Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v.; Du Cange, s.v.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und Sozialstellung der römischen Juristen* (2nd ed. Graz, 1967) 354-65. If one looks for a professional group likely to have been called *νομικοί*, to have been of roughly the standing of Papnuthis, and to have moved in his business circles, a very tempting choice would be the *tabularii* (cf. 3411 3 note), though I do not find the equation *νομικός* = *tabularius* in any lexicon. It is not clear whether there was a difference between *νομικός* and *νομικάριος*. If it is true that the latter were none officials, as cautiously suggested in P. Beatty Panop. I. 252 n., they were perhaps of too high a standing to address Papnuthis as *ἀδελφός*; but if the words are simply alternative forms (so XII 1416 21 n.), then there is nothing to choose between them here.

3 Other instances of *πασιλλᾶς* in the papyri are cited in XVI 1891 4 n. For the spelling in β- see Gignac, *Phonology*, 83-5.

5 *ἐρενήκοντα*: for the spelling see Gignac, *Phonology*, 109.

7 The regnal years are those of Constantius and Julian.

3391. ORDER FROM HORION TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(24-26)b

11 × 12.5 cm

16 January 360

Horion instructs his assistant to provide 10 pounds of meat for members of the staff of 'my lord the count'. That might refer to the catholicus, but there are other possibilities as well. For Horion cf. 3405 introd.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

Ὠρίων Παπνουτίω
βοηθῶ χ(αίρειν).
παράσχου εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν
τοῖς ὀφθ(ικιαλίους) τοῦ κυρίου μου
5 τοῦ κόμιστος κρέως
λίτρας δέκα, γί(νονται) κρ(έως) λί(τραί) ι.
(ἔτους) λςς" ες", Τῦβι κ'.
(m. 2) Ὠρίων ζε(ημείωμαι) κρέως λίτ(ρ)α
δέκα.

'Horion to Papnuthis, assistant, greeting. Supply the *officiales* of my lord the count for their needs with ten pounds of meat, total 10 pounds of meat. Year 36 = 5, Tybi 20. (2nd hand) I, Horion, have signed for ten pounds of meat.'

3392. TAX RECEIPT

44 5B.63/(58-59)b

11.5 × 27.5 cm

14 June 360

A receipt for *πρόσκαιρα*, *ἀννωνικά* εἶδη, and *χλωρός* χόρτος issued by the *praepositus pagi* Horion (cf. 3405 introd.) acting through his assistant Dorotheus.

Receipts for taxes collected directly by the office of the *praepositus* are remarkably scarce, seeing that tax-collection seems to have been a principal duty of *βοηθοί* like Dorotheus and Papnuthis: another example of such is SB V 7756. For some reason 3392 remained in Dorotheus' hands instead of those of the taxpayer, and so was preserved among his papers.

The last two of the three taxes paid are well attested (see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 192, 197), but the only other receipt for *πρόσκαιρα* is BGU III 799, said to be from the Arabic period. P. Lond. III 979, a land lease from AD 346, specifies that the landlord must pay all taxes, including *ἀννῶναι* καὶ *πρόσκαιροι* ἐπιβολαί. Otherwise the charge is known only from comparable clauses in documents of the sixth century, where it is contrasted with *κανονικά* (see P. Cair. Masp. II 151. 73 note), and from 3427 3. See in general Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 138-41, where *πρόσκαιρα* are

identified as *superindictiones*, extraordinary levies authorized by the emperor in times of emergency. Minor taxes for local purposes would also seem possible.

On the back, written across the fibres: ,βαμ. () [2 ,Θῶνις[.

παρέσχ(εν) Θαῆσις γυν(ῆ) Διονυ-
κίου ὑπ(έρ) προσκέρον καὶ ἀννωνι-
κῶν ἰδῶν τῆς εὐτυχοῦσης
5 τρίτης ἰνδι(κτίωνος) παντοίων ὑπ(έρ) (ἀρουρῶν) δςς
πλήρης καὶ ὁμοίος ὑπ(έρ) χλωροῦ
χρότου τῆς αὐτῆ[ς ἰ]νδι(κτίωνος) [τ]ὸ ἐροῦν
πλήρης.
(ἔτους) λςς ες, Παῦνι κ'.
'Ὠρίων πραιπ(όσιτος) δι' ἐμοῦ Δωροθέου
10 βοηθ(οῦ) ζε(ημείωμαι).

1 παρεσχ, γυνς 2 υῖ, 1. προσκαίρων 3 1. εἰδῶν 4 ἰνδι, υῖ ὕ- 5 1. ὁμοίως; υῖ;
1. χλωροῦ 6 1. χρότου; ἰ]νδι; 1. αἰροῦν 9 πραιῖ 10 βοηθ ζεε

'Thaesis, wife of Dionysius, has delivered the full amount due for occasional taxes and items of all sorts for the *annona* for the fortunate third indiction on 4 aruras, and likewise the proper share of fresh hay for the same indiction, in full. Year 36 = 5, Payni 20. Signed by me, Horion, *praepositus*, acting through me, Dorotheus, assistant.'

3393. PETITION TO THE RIPARI

44 5B.63/(15)a

21 × 29 cm.

8 June 365

According to this petition, Dorotheus and Papnuthis had been employed by the councillor Eulogius to assist in the collection of taxes from Terythis, a village in the fourth *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. They had accordingly paid the *ἀπαιτηταί* a considerable sum for taxes due there, incurring debt from private lenders in order to raise the money required. This they had planned to recover when they collected the taxes in the village, but then Eulogius sent instead of them his own son and a different assistant. As the collection at Terythis had been completed, the brothers saw no prospect of regaining their money from that source, and their creditors had already been receiving interest for six months. They therefore request in this petition that the money which they had paid be returned by the responsible officials.

Eulogius is identified in the text simply as *πολιτευόμενος*. It is hard to say whether such heavy involvement in tax collection as his clearly was is to be expected of a councillor *per se*. According to 3400 30, 3425 7, and SB V 7756. 22 there was at least one

praepositus named Eulogius in office about the time of this text. Possibly the Eulogius of 3393 is the same man, and is acting here as *praepositus*, though if so the designation *πολιτευόμενος* seems oddly imprecise.

3393 is complete but was left unsigned. Probably it is a fair copy of the petition which the brothers kept for themselves. The transcript was made by P. J. Parsons. The back is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος
αἰωνίων Ἀγούετων, Παῦνι ιδ'.

Ἀὐρηλίους Καρμάτη καὶ Διογένει ῥιπαρίους Ὁξυρυγίτου
παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίων Δωροθέου καὶ Παπνουθίου ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ πατρὸς

- 5 Ἄφυγγίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. πρὸ τούτου προετράπημεν
ὑπὸ Εὐλογίου πολιτευομένου ὥστε χώραν βοηθοῦ ἀποπληρώσαι
ἐπὶ κ[ώ]μης Τερ[ύ]θως καὶ διδόναι πᾶσαν προχρεῖαν τοῦ εὐρεῖν
καὶ διδόναι εἰς τὰ ζητούμενα δημόσια παντοῖα ἄχρις ἂν τὴν
ἀπαίτησιν τῆς προλεχθείσης κώμης ποιησώμεθα, καὶ δὴ πει-
10 θέντες ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτῶ ἀμέμπτως τὴν χρεῖαν ἀπεπληρώσαμεν
ἐν δὲ τῷ μετοξὺ οὐδεμίαν προχρεῖαν παρέσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἡμᾶς παρέβα-
λεν τοῖς ἀπαιτη[τα]ῖς καὶ μετὰ ὕβρεων ἀπητήθημεν τὰ συντίοντα
τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ. ἐ[π]ὶ τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς πενίας μηδὲν κεκτη-
15 μένοι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐδανικάμεθα παρὰ δανιστῶν ῥητὴν πο-
σότητα ἀργυρίων καὶ νομισματίων τὰ καὶ δοθέντα εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ δημόσια
καὶ ὅτι [ο]ὐκ ἐπετρά[π]ημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐλογίου ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν προ-
ειρημένην κώμην ἀπὸ μηνὸς Τύβι ἕως τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τόκου
χορηγοῦμεν τοῖς δανισταῖς τοῖς εὐχρηστήσασιν ἡμῖν μὴ ἐπιτραπέντες
τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιήσασθαι τῶν προχρησθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ
20 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Δωρόθεον βοηθὸν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Τερῦ-
θον ἀνθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν πεποιήνται, τούτου ἕνεκεν τὰ βιβλία
ἐπιδιδόαμεν τῇ ὑμῶν ἐμμελίᾳ ἀξιοῦντες μετασταλῆναι τοὺς δημο-
σίους τοὺς καὶ ὑπευθύνους ὄντας καὶ ἐπαναγκασθῆναι πάντα τὰ
προχρησθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδοῦναι ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθῶμεν τοῖς
25 εὐχρηστήσασιν ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ συνμεῖναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδείας καὶ μὴ
ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀφορμῆς μετανάσται γενώμεθα τῆς πατρίδος.

1 ὑπατείας 2 αἰωνίων, παῦνι 3 Διογένει 4 ἀμφοτέρων corrected from ἀμφότεροι
6 ὑπο 12 ἰ. συντίοντα 13 ἰ. ἐπεὶ 14 ἰ. δανιστῶν 15 ἰ. τῶν καὶ δοθέντων 16 ὑπο
18 ἰ. δανισταῖς, εὐχρηστήσασιν 19 ὑφ 20 υἱόν, ἰ. ἀπέστειλεν 23 ὑπευθύνους, ἐπαναγ' κασθῆναι
24 ὑφ, ἵνα 25 ἰ. ἰδέας

'The consulship of our masters Valentinian and Valens, eternal Augusti, Payni 14. To Aurelius Sarmates and Aurelius Diogenes, *riparii* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Dorotheus and Aurelius Papnuthis, both of them sons of Aphynchis, from the same city. Some time ago we were persuaded by Eulogius, a councillor, to fill the post of assistant for the village of Terythis and to give a full advance toward finding and contributing to every sort of public dues required until we should have carried out the collection for the afore-mentioned village; and we were satisfied with these terms, and carried out our duties for him irreproachably. In the meantime he provided no advance, but referred the collectors to us, and the taxes which are due from the same village have been exacted from us with insults. Since, then, on account of our great poverty we possess no property whatever, we borrowed from moneylenders a certain quantity of silver coins and of solidi, which have indeed been paid to cover the same public dues. And because we were not permitted by the same Eulogius to go out to the afore-stated village from the month of Tybi up to the present, and we pay interest to the creditors who made loans to us although we have not been permitted to carry out the collection of the sums advanced by us, but he even sent his son Sarapion and Dorotheus, an assistant, to Terythis instead of us and they have carried out the collection, for this reason we have presented the petition to your grace, requesting that the responsible officials be summoned and required to return all that was advanced by us so that we can repay the men who made loans to us and remain in our native city and not be forced to become exiles from our homeland on this account.'

3 *ρίπαριοις*: the highest police agents of the nome. See Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 162-4; Oertel, *Liturgie*, 284-6.

5-7 *προετράπημεν . . . προχρεῖαν*: a principal difficulty in interpreting this text is to decide by whom and to whom this monetary advance was to be given. (a) The natural meaning of the Greek as it stands is that Eulogius had persuaded the brothers both to accept appointment as assistants and to pay in advance the whole amount which they were to collect in taxes; line 19 speaks of sums in fact advanced by them. This would agree with evidence elsewhere in the archive that not only Dorotheus and Papnuthis but other persons in similar positions sometimes, and perhaps routinely, advanced to the *ἀπαιτηταί* sums that were due for the villages that fell under their jurisdiction in expectation of recovering the money with profit from the villagers later (cf. 3397, 3419; for the second century cf. XXXVIII 2861 11-12 n.). (b) The objections to (a) are that taking on the tax liability for an entire village even temporarily seems an astonishing thing for two persons who claim to suffer from *πολλὴ πενία* (13) to do, and that it leaves the charge in 11, that Eulogius *οὐδεμίαν προχρεῖαν παρέσχεν*, without much obvious relevance. One may therefore prefer to believe that the text has been misdrafted: e.g., read *καὶ <ὑπεδέξατο> διδόναι*, 'and he (Eulogius) promised to give (us) a full advance so that we would be able (τοῦ εὐρεῖν) also to contribute' etc. For *εὐρίσκω* = 'be able' cf. *LSJ* s.v. I (3), for the articular infinitive Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 815 ff.

7-8 On the assumption that the text is correct as written, τὰ ζητούμενα δημόσια παντοῖα apparently serves as object to both *εὐρεῖν* and *διδόναι εἰς*. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 815 ff., cites no articular infinitive altogether parallel to the two here in that case. The idea would seem to be that the task at hand was thought of as finding the necessary taxation sums among the villagers and turning these over to the state through the *ἀπαιτηταί* (12). If the brothers paid the latter in advance of the actual collection they reserved the right to claim the money back again under certain circumstances (as they do in this petition), so the use of *προχρεῖαν* would be justified, the payment not yet being final. This would be the interpretation suggested by 5-7 n. (a). If the advance spoken of was made by Eulogius to the brothers to be paid for taxes (5-7 n. (b)), the use of *προχρεῖα* to describe it raises no problems. But on either view the construction as a whole is difficult and the translation remains uncertain.

11 *οὐδεμίαν προχρεῖαν παρέσχεν*: the point of this complaint is clear if 5-7 n. (b) is correct. In the case of (a) one must assume that the persons who had actually delivered money or goods to the *ἀπαιτηταί* had a moral, if not legal, claim to carry out the subsequent tax collection themselves. As Eulogius had made no such advance, he was in the brothers' view not entitled to forestall them in the collection.

20 SB V 7756 is a tax receipt signed by a Eulogius acting through a son who might or might not be the Sarapion mentioned here. The receipt is dated to 27 September 359, however, almost six years earlier than this text, so there may have been two *praepositi* named Eulogius, assuming that the man here was indeed a *praepositus*.

3394. PETITION TO FLAVIUS FLAVIANUS

44 5B.60/C(11)a

15 × 28 cm

Fourth century (364-6?)

Flavius Flavianus, to whom this document is addressed, is presumably to be identified with the recipient of another petition, PSI VIII 944. Neither text preserves Flavianus' title further than the rank *vir clarissimus*, but PSI 944. 3 definitely, and 3394 4 probably, refer to the man as *ἡγεμῶν κύριε*. According to C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395* (Coll. Latomus 55, Brussels 1962) 101 n. 4, this usage indicates that Flavianus was a *praeses*; and in the context of this archive, that could only be the *praeses Augustamnicae*. A *praefectus Aegypti* named Flavianus, however, is attested for the years AD 364-6 (Vandersleyen 18 no. 39; Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 246, no. 31). During those years Oxyrhynchus was part of Augustamnica (cf. XLVI 3308 7 n.), but the possibility of an appeal to the prefect in that period cannot be excluded (3398 9 n.). If the Flavianus of our text should in fact be the *praefectus Aegypti* rather than the *praeses Augustamnicae*, his known term of office would place this petition to within a year of the similar 3393. It seems best for the present to leave the question of his position undecided.

The papyrus is badly mutilated, but it is clear that Dorotheus and Papnuthis, having borrowed money to pay taxes, found themselves in unexpectedly straitened circumstances, were unable to meet their obligations, and feared that they might have to take to flight. Flavianus is requested to take some action so that this can be avoided, but the nature of the desired intervention is lost in lacuna. The situation as a whole is reminiscent of 3393, and the two cases may be related, though they do not seem to be identical. Unlike 3393, the brothers actually signed the present text. As it was nevertheless found among their papers it was either never sent or was returned to them.

The back contains the following note, written across the fibres: λέγομεν δὴ² Θωνίου υἱοῦ Κοπρήτος³ καὶ Διοσκουρίδου⁴ καὶ Σεγήρου, 'we mean of Thonius the son of Copres, Dioscurides, and Severus'.

[Φλα]ουῖω Φλαουιανῶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ [

[π]α[ρ]ὰ Ἀ[ρ]ηλίων Παπνουτίου καὶ Δωροθέου ἀμ[φοτέρων] . . . ἀπὸ τῆς . . .

[Ἰ]ουλιανῶν πόλεως. πάντας μὲν ο. [

ἡγεμῶν κύριε, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς μετρι[

5 . . .]ίας [. . .]αζόμενοι τὰ εὐσεβῆ τελέματα π. . . [

[εἰς τ]ὸ ξερῶ[τα]τον ταμεῖον πληρῶσαι ἐδανικάμ[εθα

[. . . .]αι τοῦτο εὐμαρῶς πληρῶσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπ[.]τυχ[

[παρὰ τὰ]ς ἡμετέρας προσδοκίας παθόντες ζημιω[

1 [φλα]ουῖω φλαουιανῶ

6 l. ἐδανικάμεθα

[. . .] . . . , οἱ δὲ δανισταὶ τῆς ἐχ[ο]ύσης ἡμᾶς μ. . . [

10 [. . . ὄ]ντας πλείτους ἀπήτησαν ἕω[ε] ἂν ἐκ τῆς εκ[

[. . .] . . . [. . .] ἐν εἰς τοσοῦτον ὥ[ε]θ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀνα[γκαιῶν] δεῖσθαι (?)

[. . .] ἐ[ν]εκε[εν] τῆς τῶν δανιστῶν πλεονεξίας καὶ δ[

[. . .] . . . [. . .] τὴν πατρίδα καταλείψαι στενοχω[ρ

[. . .] . . . τὸδε σοι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀναγκ[

15 [. . .] . . . παρασχόμενοι ὅπως ἐλεήσης τ[

[. . .] . . . παρὰ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ προ[πο]λιτε[υ]ο[μ]ένου

[. . .] . . . δοῦναι πρὸς τ[ὴν] πόλιν, τῆς τύχης [. . .] [

[. . .] . . . δανισταῖς τὸ εὐγ[υ]ωμον ποιήσασθαι καὶ [

[. . .] . . . εὐγυμῆναι καὶ εἰς [ἀε]ὶ σοὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν [

20 (m. 2) Ἀρρήλιος Παπνουθίς Ἀφύγχιου ἐπιδέδω[κα.]

(m. 3) Ἀρρήλιος Δωροθέος Ἀφύγχιου ἐπιδέδωκα.

9 l. δανισταὶ

12 l. δανιστῶν

13 l. καταλείψαι

18 l. δανισταῖς

19 l. συμμεῖναι

'To Flavius Flavianus, *vir clarissimus*, [*praeses* (or, prefect of Egypt),] from Aurelius Papnuthis and Aurelius Dorotheus, both of us [sons of Aphynchis, from the brilliant and most brilliant] city of the Oxyrhynchites. [The laws,] O lord *praeses* (or, prefect), [offer shelter to] all men, but especially to us who live in modest circumstances. [Pressed as we are by our lack of means] we borrowed money to pay the holy taxes into the most sacred treasury, [thinking that we could] easily pay this back; but we suffered misfortune, and monetary losses beyond our expectations, and the moneylenders, [learning of the sudden poverty] which holds us in its grip, demanded [immediate return of the loans,] many as they are, until from the . . . to such a degree that we lack even the bare necessities (?) . . . because of the greed of the moneylenders, and [may even be forced] to leave our native city because of our straitened circumstances. For this reason we have of necessity presented this petition to you, laying [our case before you] so that you may have mercy . . . from Athanasius, *principalis* (?) . . . give (?) to the city, fate . . . be fair to the moneylenders and . . . remain [in our native city] and be eternally grateful to you. (2nd hand) Presented by me, Aurelius Papnuthis, son of Aphynchis. (3rd hand) Presented by me, Aurelius Dorotheus, son of Aphynchis.'

1 If [ἡγε]μῶν in 4 is right, and if Vandersleyen is correct in believing that that word could not be applied to the prefect of Egypt later than about AD 324 (*Chronologie*, 102), then Flavianus was *praeses Augustamnicae* and [ἡγεμῶν] is expected at the end of this line. If he was none the less prefect, [ἐπαρχῶν Αἰγύπτου] should be restored.

4 μετρί[ως] ἔχοντας or μετρί[ους].

5 The first word may be [πεν]ίας, [στενο]χωρ[ίας], or the like; then probably [βι]αζόμενοι or [πι]αζόμενοι. At the end of the line παρὰ is more likely than πληρ[ῶσαι].

6-7 [οἰόμενοι | δύνασ]θαι would give a satisfactory sense.

7 Possible restorations include ἀπ[ὸ] τύχ[ης], ἀπ' [ἀ]τυχ[ήματος], and ἀπ[ο]τυχ[όντες].

8 ζημιῶ[ν], ζημιω[θέντες], ζημιώ[σεις], vel sim.

16 For the uncertainty about the meaning of προπολιτευόμενος see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 55-8.

18-19 For the thought cf. 3393 24-5, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθῶμεν τοῖς | εὐχρηστήσας ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ συμμεῖναι ἐπὶ τῆς ιδείας. It seems likely that the petition ends with the word εὐχαριστήσομεν, for which possibly the subjunctive should be read, dependent on ὅπως in line 15.

3395. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR GRAIN DELIVERED

44 5B.60/C(9-10)a (back)

10 × 27 cm

27 July 371

A receipt for 35 artabas of wheat plus associated charges issued by a κυβερνήτης to Papnuthis and Dorotheus. It is not stated whether the grain was received from them in an official capacity, as taxes which they had themselves collected and here pass on for shipment downstream; or whether it was owed by them personally on land they owned themselves. All plausibility, however, is in favour of the first explanation: receipts for individual tax-payments should be made out by tax-collectors, not by boat-pilots.

On the other side is 3398.

Αὐρήλιος Θεωνάμωνος
 Παύλου, κυβερνήτου πλοίου κληρ(ονόμων)
 Ἑρακλίου ἀπὸ λογιστῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)
 καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυνχιτῶν πόλεως
 5 Αὐρήλιοι Παπνουθίς καὶ Δωρόθε-
 ος ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν. μεμαίτη-
 με καὶ ἐναιβαλόμην παρ' ὑμῶν
 * εἰς τὸ προκίμε[μερον]νον πλοῖων
 ὑπὲρ γενήματος εἰς ἰνδικτίω-
 10 νος δίτου καθαροῦ ἀρ[γυ]τάβας
 τριάκοντα πένται, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) λε μό-
 νας, τούτων τὰ κούμηλα καὶ τὰ ναῦ-
 λα καὶ τὸ σακκοφορικὸν πλήρης.
 (ἔτους) μζς ιςς' [Ἐπ] Μεσορῆ γ.
 15 Αὐρήλιος Θεωνάμωνος ὁ προκίμε-
 γος συμφωνῶ μοι ὡς πρόκι-
 τε. Αὐρήλιος Ἑλλάδιος Ἰουλιανοῦ
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα
 μὴ ἰδός.

1 l. Θεωνάμωνος 2 Παύλου corrected from Παῦλος; l. κυβερνήτης; κληρ/ 3 λαμς 4 λαμς
 5-6 l. Αὐρήλιος Παπνουθίς καὶ Δωρόθεος ἀδελφοῖς 6-7 l. μεμέτρημαι 7 l. ἐναιβαλόμην; ὑμῶν
 8 l. εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πλοῖον 11 l. πέντε 12 l. κούμουλα 13 l. σακκοφορικὸν 15-16 l.
 Θεωνάμωνος ὁ προκείμενος συμφωνεῖ 16-17 l. πρόκειται 17 Ἰουλιανου 18 ὑπερ 19 ἰδος, c
 corrected from τ; l. εἰδός

'Aurelius Theonammon, son of Paulus, skipper of a boat belonging to the heirs of Heraclius, former logistes of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to his brothers Aurelius Papnuthis

and Aurelius Dorotheus, greeting. I have had measured out and have embarked from you into the afore-mentioned boat, for the crop of the 15th indiction, thirty-five artabas of clean wheat, = 35 art. only, the *cumuli* on these, and the shipping and portage fees, in full. Year 47 = 16, Mesore 3. I, the afore-mentioned Aurelius Theonammon, agree as stated. I, Aurelius Helladius, son of Julianus, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.'

1-2 Θεωνάμωνος Παύλου: or, less probably, Θεών Αμωνος Παύλου, 'Theon, son of Amon, the son of Paulus'.

3 The logistes Heraclius has not appeared in any other documents published to date.

12 κούμηλα: two metrological documents define κούμουλον as $\frac{1}{30}$ artaba (P. Lond. V 1718 and ZPE 15, 1974, 173-8). As a tax it appears only here, in ZPE 32 (1978) 255 (line 10), in P. Flor. I 75. 21, and perhaps in P. Cair. Goodspeed 14. 7 (BL I p. 173). A *cumulus* of $\frac{1}{30}$ artaba was equal to the difference between a *modius xystus* and a *modius cumulatus*, so one might speculate that *cumuli* were charged when grain paid in by the first unit had been due in the second. While the use of *modii xysti* in Egypt is attested, however (see ZPE 24, 1977, 62-3), a requirement that grain taxes be paid in *modii cumulati* is not.

13 σακκοφορικὸν (l. σακκοφορικόν): only here and P. Cair. Goodsp. 14. 7, but P. Flor. I 75. 21 uses a synonym, σακκοφορικοὶ μισθοί.

14 On the Oxyrhynchite eras see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 36-42. This example is to be added to the table there on p. 40, along with another of the same year in ZPE 37 (1980) 213-14.

After the year, the scribe started to write the previous month Ἐπέφ before correcting himself.

3396. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO HIS PARENTS

44 5B.63/(57)a

18 × 28 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis writes home from Alexandria, where he has been sent by 'the landlord of Sarapammon and his associate' to receive a large sum of money on orders of the ἡγεμόνων, who in this archive can only be the *praeses Augustamnicae*. Apparently the 'landlords' are active in government business of some kind: the background is not clear, but it may be worth noting the involvement of landlords in collecting taxes in 3400, and the suggestion made in the introduction there that Papnuthis' landlord may have been serving as *praepositus pagi* at the time. In Alexandria Papnuthis' cash-in-hand has dwindled to 47,500 denarii, a very modest sum for the period.

Papnuthis' main concern in writing, however, seems to be centred around certain 'pledges', ἐνέχυρα. A banker has been instructed to see that his parents get the money for these, and Papnuthis is anxious to assure himself that they have in fact received it. One recalls the brothers' difficulties with creditors in 3393-4, but there is no necessary connection between the loans mentioned there and the pledges here.

The letter gives some striking examples of terms of family relationships used simply to express friendship or respect. From other texts we know that the Aphynchis and Maria whom Papnuthis addresses as father and mother were in fact his parents, but the closing lines greet an additional 'mother' and two more 'fathers'. One 'brother' besides Dorotheus, however, could of course be a real sibling, as could the four 'sisters'. The names Εὔθητις (24) and Τασιλβάνις (27) are not found in the *NB* or the *Onomasticon*.

19 *παρμενώμαι*: the use as a deponent is new.

25 *τὴν Μικκῆν*: or *τὴν μικκῆν*, 'my little sister'. P. J. Parsons points out that the use of the article here, which is omitted before the names elsewhere, favours the second interpretation.

Choiūs may be the *tabularius* of 3411.

27 *Ἀμμωνίων* could stand for either *Ἀμμώνιον* or *Ἀμμωνίωνα* in this letter.

32 Concerning the figures around the address, Dr Rea has been kind enough to provide the following note: 'Inked designs of this general type often occur in association with addresses. They are connected with the seal or tie which closed the letters. Dr R. A. Coles has pointed out in conversation that the centre of the design is always missing, and for this fact he has advanced the convincing explanation that the designs were drawn around and actually over the seals or ties, so that the parts that were not on the letter itself were removed when it was opened. The purpose of the designs was apparently to enable any unauthorized opening of the letters to be detected, since it would have been difficult to match the original freehand design on a new fastening or to replace the old fastening in exactly the right place.

In this case experiment with a xerox copy of a photograph of 3396 has allowed us to conclude that the letter was folded up into a flat spill about 2 cm. wide and with a length equivalent to the full height of the sheet, 28 cm. The folding was done mostly by rolling from one side, but a single fold from the opposite direction ensured that both the side edges of the letter were hidden safely inside. Three ligatures were put around this spill, one near the middle, and one near each end. The designs were probably put on before the address, which was written on one side of the spill with one half neatly on either side of the central design. The designs were carried on round both sides of the spill. On either side of each ligature a continuous line parallel with it was drawn all round the spill. Each of these three pairs of parallel lines had linking strokes running across the ligature. At the ends the links were perpendicular to the parallels, in the middle they ran diagonally to give a pattern of diamonds. Now that the letter is unfolded the designs appear roughly rectangular in outline.

Other items in this archive have remains of a similar but less complicated method of fastening. There was only one central ligature round 3400 and 3409, which were made into full-length spills like 3396. Two others, 3408 and 3420, were folded horizontally to half their height before the spill was made and were then tied with a single central ligature.

It is perhaps even more common in addresses to find a saltire pattern, again interrupted at the centre, cf. e.g. XLIII 3094. This seems to be appropriate to the shape of a seal, rather than a tie, but that is not certain. Photographs of sealed papyrus letters are to be seen in W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Taf. IV and L. Deuel, *Testament of Time*, Pl. I d. Nothing is visible in them of any ink designs. The seals are placed over ties, which are made of narrow strips of papyrus. Perhaps, since it would not be an easy matter to draw ink lines on a seal, the single saltire pattern was drawn over a tie at the place where a seal was to be attached but before it actually was attached. This is a guess only.'

3397. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(20-21)a+
44 5B.63/(39-42)c

16 × 27 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis was apparently stationed in Oxyrhynchus at the time he wrote this letter, and Dorotheus in the countryside; the latter is urgently requested to send up some money without delay, or, failing that, to send the comarchs from whom it should have been collected. The letter plainly falls in the time when the brothers were employed as assistants to the *praepositus pagi* and as such had armed guards at their disposal together with the authority to effect arrests; cf. 11-12 n.

The sums in question fall into three heads. (a) (1-12). Evidently a levy to hire workmen for some unspecified task had fallen to the village, and the comarchs, who were directly responsible to the *praepositus* and his staff, had not yet turned over the

amount due. In the meantime, the apaitetai have been dunning Papnuthis for it, but his hands are already full with trying to raise a land-tax in gold (21-3). He therefore wants either the money or the comarchs sent to him to the nome capital, where, he says, he can force them to pay; cf. 3-4 and 11-12 nn. (b) (13-15). Some money simply called *ἀργύρια* is to be turned over to one Felix, who does not recur elsewhere. (c) (16-21). Whether to pay for the same workers or for some other purpose, Papnuthis had already advanced some money that was due from the comarchs. If Dorotheus has collected enough taxes by now to cover this sum, he is to send it: cf. the advances which the brothers speak of having made in 3393 and their expectations there too of regaining the money from the taxes to be collected; further 3394, 3419, and P. Osl. II 88. Otherwise, again, the comarchs are to be sent.

The back contains the following short account together with some other jottings now incomprehensible: *Ἀπολλῶς γ[ο(μικμάτιον)] α,* ² *προδοχὴ Λάμακος διὰ [...].* (*δηναρίων*) (*μυριάδες*) ρρε, ³ *Παθάς [νο(μικμάτιον)] α,* ⁴ *Πουόλις δια [...]* (*δην.*) (*μυρ.*) φν, ⁵ *Ἀπολλῶς γ[ο(μ.)] α,* ⁶ *Παθάς (δην.) (μυρ.) [7 λήμματος (δην.) (μυρ.) [...].* ⁸ *Ἄθῦρ κδ' π(αρά) Ἀφῶς [(δην.)] (μυρ.) τμλ'',* ⁹ *π(αρά) Γέμελλος ζύ[μμ]αχος (δην.) (μυρ.) ρν',* ¹⁰ *π(αρά) Ψεναμοῦνης (δην.) (μυρ.) ριβ'' καὶ [(τάλ.)] Ἄωβ (?),* ¹¹ *π(αρά) Κοπρέου (δην.) (μυρ.) ρν.* The word *προδοχὴ* (2) has previously been reported only as a doubtful reading in P. Lond. V 1870. Here it is used parallel to *προδοχὴ* in P. Tebt. I 209 and III 1092, and may be a mistake for that word; cf. 9 note. It may also occur in one of the other jottings. There is a paragraphus after l. 6 and another after l. 11. *μ[ον]αχός* is an alternative to *ζύ[μμ]αχος* in l. 9.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέου

Παπνουτίς.

πολλάκις σοι ἔγραψα περὶ τοῦ ἀναλώματος

τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ οὐδέν μοι ἀπέστειλας·

5 μὰ τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν καθ' ἐκάστην ποιῶ μεγάλην
ἀ<η>δίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀπαιτητῶν τούτου χάριν.

σπούδασον ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἀπόστειλον

τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῶν αὐτῶν ἐργατῶν· οἶδας

καὶ σοι τί ἐ<τ>ὶν προδοχῇ. εἰάν γνοις ὅτι

10 οἱ κώμαρχοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν δοῦναι αὐτά,
ἀπόστειλόν μοι τοὺς κωμάρχας καὶ ποιῶ αὐ-
τοὺς πάντα πληρῶσε ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως.

καὶ σπούδασον τὰ ἀργύρια Φήλικι ἀποστῆλαι

ἐν τῇ σήμερον· ἐν τούτῳ, γὰρ οὐ βλάπτ[τ]ῆ. μῆ

1 l. Δωροθέου
14 l. τούτω

4 etc. l. ἀπέστειλας

5 l. Θεὸν

8 l. ἐργατῶν

9 l. εὖ

12 l. πληρῶσαι

- 15 ἀφῆς ἡμᾶς ἐν περιστάσει τούτο[ν] χάριν.
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἃ δέδωκα
ὑπ(ἐρ) τῶν κωμαρχῶν, σπούδασον ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀπετήσεως ἄρην καὶ ἀποστῆλαι ἢ τοὺς
κωμάρχας ἀπόστιλον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
- 20 —οἶδες καὶ σοὶ τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως—καὶ τὰ
ἀναλώματα. καὶ κατάκλιτός εἰμι ἕνεκεν
τοῦ χρυσίου τῆς ἀρουρατίωνος καὶ ἕως
σήμερον οὐδὲν ἀπέστιας. (m. 2 ?) ἐρρωθεθαί και εὖχο-
μαι πολλοῖς χρόν(οις).

15 l. περιστάσει 16 l. ἀναλωμάτων 17 l. κωμαρχῶν 18 l. ἀπαιτήσεως, αἶρειν 20 l. ἐν
21 l. κατάκλιτός 23 l. εἰ

'To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. I have written to you many times about the expense of the workers and you have sent me nothing; now by God I have great unpleasantness with the collectors every day on account of this. Make haste to send me the expense of the same workers today; you know yourself what financial obligation is. If you know that the comarchs have refused to turn over these (sums), send me the comarchs and I shall make them pay them all in the city. And hasten to send the money to Felix today, for in this you will suffer no disadvantage. Do not leave us in need on this account. And concerning the expenses which I advanced on behalf of the comarchs, make haste to raise them from the collection and send them, or send the comarchs to the city—you know yourself the bad things in the city—and the expense. And I am locked in because of the gold for the land tax and up to today you have sent me nothing. (2nd hand?) I pray for your health for many years.'

3-4 ἀναλώματος τῶν ἐργατῶν: possibly ἀναλώματος was miswritten as ἀναλωμάτων or ἀναλωμάτων. Egyptian villages of the fourth century were sometimes required to present contributions to the support of workers in government service, and this money was collected by higher authorities from the comarchs. ἀναλώματος τῶν ἐργατῶν seems to have occurred before in this connection only in CPR VI 5. 5, where the phrase is partly restored, but cf. ὑπὲρ μέρου(ς) ἐργατῶν . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τροφείου in P. Hib. II 220. 5-6; further P. Théad. 34-36, P. Flor. III 346, BGU XII 2134 with introd.; H. Missler, *Der Komarch* (dissert. Marburg 1970) 94-5 and 111; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. ἐργασία.

5 καθ' ἑκάστην: sc. ἡμέραν; cf. *WB*, s.v. ἕκαστος.

9 προσδοχή: the only real parallel to this usage seems to be IX 1223 25-8 τοσαύτας γὰρ προσδοχὰς χρεωστοῦμεν, καὶ οὐκέτι πιστευόμεθα, ἐὰν μὴ εὐγνωμονήσωμεν; cf. further P. Tebt. I 209 and III 1092, and perhaps προσδοχή cited in the introduction to this text.

11-12 ποιῶ αὐτοὺς πάντα πληρῶς: cf. in this connection the imprisonment of comarchs in 3409 and the orders to employ torture in 3430, though the latter may not be meant literally.

13 τὰ ἀργύρια: this money is different from that for the workers, since Papnuthis reckons with the possibility that the latter had still to be collected from the comarchs, while this already lies at Dorotheus' immediate disposal.

20 τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως: the prison, for example; cf. 11-12 n.

20-1 καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα: if the punctuation printed above is correct, these words are direct object of ἀπόστιλον and the οἶδες clause is parenthetical. This would be in keeping with Papnuthis' lively style, but one might also take ἀναλώματα as the object of οἶδες, 'you know the bad things of the city and (the amount of) the expenses.'

21 κατάκλιτός εἰμι: cf. P. Tebt. II 420. 26, P. Amh. II 80. 4, XLIII 3104, and 3409. It seems odd, however, that Papnuthis should mention his being locked up for the land tax only at the end of a letter in which his principal concern is to recover outlays made for another purpose, and odd also that

he expects to be able to coerce the comarchs into paying if he is imprisoned himself at the time. Perhaps he means merely that he is too busy to get away.

22 ἀρουρατίωνος: this word will now have to be read in P. Lips. 62 ii 20, where the editor printed χρυσοῦ ἀρουρα. . . ονος; cf. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 217. Otherwise it has occurred only in P. Cair. Masp. III 67329 ii 8.

23-4 The closing formula is written so quickly as to have little resemblance to the script of the body of the letter, but it is not unlikely that both are the work of Papnuthis himself.

3398. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(9-10)a (front)

10 × 27 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis has heard that one Eutrygius has sent to Dorotheus concerning some men from Syron Kome. If Dorotheus meets him, he is to let him know that Papnuthis has already petitioned the prefect about the matter, but no final answer has yet been given. He is further to try to bring him to terms with their landlord Diogenes. Diogenes may be the landlady's 'brother' mentioned in 3407 11, and is conceivably identical with the writer of 3415-16 as well. Eutrygius does not occur elsewhere in the archive.

On the other side is a receipt dated to AD 371, 3395; cf. 9 n.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέου

Παπνοῦθις.

ἐλθὼν Πανεχώτης πρὸς

μαὶ καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι ἐπεμψε

5 Εὐτρυγιος πρὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν

ἀπὸ κόμης Σύρων. ἐὰν μά-

θης ὅτι ἠθέλησεν πρὸς σὲ

λέγειν εἰπέ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐνέτυχα

τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ ἐπάρχου

10 περὶ τούτου. ἐκέλευσεν Ἰπτολε-

μαίῳ τῷ πολιτευομένῳ

τῆς Κυνὸ ἀκροῶσε τὸ πρᾶγμα

καὶ ἀναφορὰν πεποίηκεν

ἵνα αὐτίς ἀπηγησῶ

15 πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου

τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου.

καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον

1 l. Δωροθέῳ
14 ἵνα; l. ἀπαντήσω

4 l. μὲ

5 l. σὲ

8 l. λέγειν

9 l. ἐπάρχῳ

12 l. ἀκροῶσαι

ἡμῶν Διογένην. ποιήσον
αὐτὸν ὁμιλήσει Εὐτρυγίῳ
20 καὶ ἀντίγραφόν μοι τί πεποι-
ηκες πρὸς αὐτούς.

ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς
χρονοῖς, κύριε ἀδελφε.

19 l. ὁμιλήσει 20-21 l. πεποίηκας

'To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. Panechotes came to me and told me that Eutrygius sent to you about the men from Syron Kome. If you learn that he wanted to speak to you, tell him that I petitioned my lord the prefect concerning this matter. He ordered Ptolemaeus, the councillor of Cynopolis, to hear the affair, and he made a report that I should again approach his excellency my lord the most glorious prefect. And go to our landlord Diogenes. Make him talk with Eutrygius and write back to me what you have done as far as they are concerned. I pray for your health for many years, lord brother.'

9 ἐπάρχου (l. -φ): the more extended formulation in 15-16 makes it as good as certain that this means the *praefectus Aegypti* and not, for example, some military prefect.

The other side of this text contains a tax receipt from AD 371 (3395) written across the fibres, while 3398 is written parallel to them. If this were sufficient indication that 3398 was the earlier text, then it would offer us the first reasonably clear instance of direct appeal to the prefect of Egypt rather than the *praeses Augustamnicae* by a resident of that province: for there is virtually no chance that the letter pre-dates the creation of Augustamnica in AD 341, and the province continued to exist as late as 373 (XLVI 3308; for the little that is known of the prefect's authority in provinces under *praesides* see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, Coll. Latomus 55, Brussels, 1962, pp. 110-14; 3308 7 n.). However, 3395 may be earlier than 3398, and that would allow the latter to have been written after the reunion of Augustamnica with Aegyptus: other examples in this archive of writing across the fibres in the earlier of two texts, or in cases where the other side was left blank, are 3385, 3387-8, 3390-1, 3404, 3406, 3412, 3427. Only in 3412 is a *collema* preserved, one showing that the traditional *recto* side was used first in that instance. Cf. further P. Tebt. I 41 introd.

11 τῷ πολιτευομένῳ τῆς Κυνώ: this phrasing is possible only if Κυνώ designates a city with a βουλή, in this case Cynopolis: for the form of the name see e.g. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1935) pl. I no. 12, pl. II no. 13. If Papnuthis' petition to the prefect involved conflicting claims of Oxyrhynchite officials, then a Cynopolite may have been chosen as arbitrator in expectation that he would be more impartial than a native of Oxyrhynchus. But links between the two nomes appear to have been so close that an opposite explanation also deserves consideration, namely that Cynopolite interests could have been directly involved in the case. Cf. 3423 12 n.

12 ἀκροᾶσε: apart from an unhelpful entry in the *EM* s.v. ἀκροῶ this active form has not been known before. Cf. Du Cange on ἀκροαταί, 'auditores, qui causis cognoscendis praesunt'. One could of course read ἀκροᾶς(θ)ε. F. Gignac cites only one example of the loss of θ after c (ἐρρωᾶς(θ)αι, VII 1069 34, *Phonology* p. 98), but the corresponding loss of τ is well known (ibid. 66-7).

3399. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63(86-87)b

11.5 × 28 cm

Fourth century

A note from Papnuthis to his brother, informing him of the safe receipt of various sums of money. These may have been dispatched by Dorotheus himself from taxes collected in the country; cf. e.g. 3397.

The back is blank.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέῳ

Παπνοῦθις.

γινώ(ς)κιν σε βούλομαι ὅτι ὑπεδεξάμην

παρὰ Ἰσιδώρου ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀργυρίου

5 δηναρίον μυριάδας μυριάδων μίαν

καὶ μυριάδας χιλίας διακοσίας πενήκον-

τα, (γίνονται) (δηναρίων) (μυριάς) (μυριάδων) α ἄν και δι(ὰ) τοῦ
φύλακος

νομισ(μάτια) ἕξ και ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.) (μυρ.) (μυρ.) αζφ^ε.

ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις,

10

κύριε ἀδελφε.

4 ἰσιδώρου

5 l. δηναρίων μυριάδα

7 | * Ϟ Ϟ, δι

8 νομισ, ἀργυρ/ * Ϟ Ϟ

'To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. I want you to know that I received from Isidorus in the city one myriad of myriads and one thousand two hundred and fifty myriads of silver denarii, = 112,500,000 denarii, and through the guard six solidi and 165,000,000 silver denarii. I pray for your health for many years, lord brother.'

2 For γινώσκειν vs. γινώσκειν see Gignac, *Phonology*, 176.

3400. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO HIS LANDLORD

44 5B.63/(43-45)a

15.5 × 25 cm

c. 359-65

Papnuthis informs his γεοῦχος of various problems connected with collections in the village of Berky: the grain was full of barley, the measure available appears to have been of the wrong size, despite the villagers' protestations to the contrary, and two men who should have assisted have refused to do so. Papnuthis reports that a *praepositus* carrying out the collection with the help of soldiers was having no difficulty and asks whether he should follow that official's procedure.

Problems of this sort suggest that the grain Papnuthis was to collect was above all or exclusively for taxes, not simply rents due to his landlord, and indeed the list of

responsible persons had been furnished him by a municipal scribe of Oxyrhynchus, a circumstance which again points to public rather than private concern. The question then arises whether Papnuthis' landlord was personally responsible for these dues in his capacity as *possessor*, in which case he must have owned extensive territory about the village; or whether he was not in fact acting by virtue of some office which Papnuthis does not name, a view which his implied authority to commandeer soldiers very strongly favours. A combination of both grounds is not unthinkable, but the reference to 'the other *praepositus*' in 23 is most easily understandable if 'the landlord' for whom Papnuthis works was a *praepositus* too. Cf. 3396 introd.

The papyrus is in places torn and badly rubbed. A regrettably high number of passages remain obscure. As the letter was found among the papers of this archive, it was evidently never delivered. The approximate date is taken from other texts which mention a *praepositus* named Eulogius (30; cf. 3393 with introd. and note to line 20).

κυρίῳ μου γεούχῳ Παπνοῦτις
χαίρειν.

καθὼς ἐκέλευσάς μοι ἀπαντῆσε εἰς Βερκὺ ἵνα
παραλάβω τὸν κύτων αὐτῶν, εὐρὸν δὲ τὸν κύτων
5 αὐτῶν ἐκ <κ>ριθῶν οὐκ ἐδυνήθην ὑποδέξαι ἀχρὶς
λάβω παρὰ σοῦ ὄρον περὶ τούτου. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα
ἄπερ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ γραμμ[α]τεὺς τῆς πόλεως
εὐρήθησαν διαφέρων τοῦ Ψινούρ καὶ Πραοῦς.
οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ψινούρ ἀπαιτῆσε μεθ' ἡμῶν
10 τὰ ὀνόματα διαφέρωντα τῷ Π[ρ]αοῦ, λέγων ὅτι
οὐκ ἔχω πᾶγμα, οὐδὲ καὶ [δ] Πραοῦς οὐκ ἠλ-
θεν ἀπαιτῆσε αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν, λέγων
ὅτι οὐ χολάζω. καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέτρ[ο]υ [α]ὐτῶν
μαλαμ εἰς καθὼς ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτοὶ ὅτι ἴσον
15 ἐ[σ]τὶν τοῦ κα<γ>κέλλου τῷ δημωσίου. μάθε δὲ ὅτι ὁ πρε-
πόσιτος αὐτῶν τη. [.]νεκεν ἐρχό-
μενος στρατιώτας τῆς [.] καὶ ἀπετὶ αὐτοῖς
ὡς βούλετε. λοιπόν, γράψον μοι [εἰ] θέλεις με ὑπο-
δέξαι περὶ τοῦ κύτου καὶ τοῦ μέτρου. τινὲς αὐτῶν

3 l. ἀπαντῆσαι (for ἀπήνηται); ἵνα 4 l. κύτων, εὐρών 5 l. αὐτῶν; ὑποδε
7 l. γραμματεὺς 8 l. εὐρέθη διαφέροντα τῷ, Πραοῦ 9 l. ἀπαιτῆσαι 10 l. διαφέροντα
11 πραγ'μα' 12 l. ἀπαιτῆσαι; θη of μεθ' ἡμῶν corrected 14 ἴσον 15 l. δημωσίου
15-16 l. πραιπόσιτος 17 l. ἀπαιτεῖ αὐτοὺς 18 l. βούλεται, λοιπόν, θέλεις 18-19 ὑποδέξαι,
l. ὑποδέξαι 19 l. αὐτῶν

20 λέγουσιν ὅτι δευοῦ μέτρησον, εἰ δὲ εὐρομεν
ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀγνώμονες, λαμβάνομεν καὶ ἡμῖς
στρατιώτας καὶ β. ελεύομεν αὐτούς. εἰ μὲν θέλεις,
ὡς καὶ ὁ ἕτερος πρεπόσιτος ὑποδέξει, καὶ ἡμῖς ὑπο-
δέξομεν. ἀντίγραφῶ<ν> μοι ἐν τάχει ὡς βούλη.
25 ποιήσον δὲ τὸν δεσπότη<ν> μου γεούχῳ<ν> Εὐλόγιον
γράψαι τῷ Ψινούρ ἀπειλάς πολλὰς. εἰ μὲν δύνα-
σαι ἀπαντῆσε ἐνταῦθα ἔσται π[ρ]ᾶγμα ὑποθη-
[. . .]ν. ἐρρωσθαί σοι [εὐχό]μαι, κ[ύρι]έ μου γεούχῳ.

Postscript on the back:

ὁ βοιωτὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ἀρχὴν ἔβαλε . . . ε λ . . . του μέτρου ὃς ἐ-
30 μέτρησεν Εὐλόγιος πραιπόσιτος τῆς ἡμῶν παλι. μερίδος καὶ ἡ θέλεις με
ὑποδέξαι τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ἵνα π[α]ραδῶ τῷ [β]ω[θηθῶ] Ἀπολλωνίου καθὼς
κελεύ[ει]
ἀντίγραφῶν μοι. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ βοιωτὸς Ἀπολλωνίου συνέθετο μετ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ χίρα
αὐτῷ ἐπιδέδωκεν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ὄροις. ὁ γραμματεὺς δὲ τῆς κώμης Βερκὺ
διέστειλέν
μοι τὰ ὀνόματα καθὼς πρὸ τοῦ τελούντες.

Address:

35 ἀπόδ(ος) τῷ δεσπότη μου (design) γε[ο]ύχῳ.

21 l. ἀγνώμονας, ἡμεῖς 22 l. θέλεις 23 l. πραιπόσιτος; ὑποδεχί, l. ὑποδέχει, ἡμεῖς
24 l. ἀντίγραφον, τάχει 25 l. γεούχον Εὐλόγιον 26 l. ἀπειλάς 27 l. ἀπαντῆσαι; π[ρ]ᾶγμα
28 l. ε, γεούχε 29 l. βοιωτὸς, ὡς 30 l. εἰ θέλεις 31 l. ὑποδέξαι, βοιωτῶ 32 l. βοιωτὸς,
χείρα 33 l. ὄροις, γραμματεὺς, διέστειλέν

'To my lord landlord, greeting from Papnuthis. I went to Berky to receive their grain just as you instructed me, but as I found that their grain consisted of barley I could not accept it before getting a ruling from you about it. The names which the municipal scribe gave us were discovered to fall under the jurisdiction of Psinour and Praous. Psinour did not want to collect with us the names which fall to Praous, saying "It's none of my business", and Praous also did not go to make the collection from them with us, saying "I haven't time". And concerning their measure . . . just as they submit that it is equal to the public *cancellus*. And you should know that their *praepositus* . . . (brought) soldiers when he came . . . and he collects from them as he pleases. In short, write to me about the grain and the measure if you want me to accept them. Some of them are saying, ". . . measure it, and if we find any of them who refuse to pay we too shall take soldiers and command (?) them." If you want, we too shall accept delivery on the same terms as the other *praepositus* does; write me back your wishes quickly. And make my lord landlord Eulogius write many threats to Psinour. If you can come here, there will be a piece of business to propose (?). I pray for your health, my lord landlord. (*Postscript*): Apollonius' assistant has begun . . . the measure in the same way as Eulogius, the *praepositus* of our . . . district did the measuring, and if you want me to accept delivery with the same measure so that I can turn (the grain) over to

Apollonius' assistant as he bids, write to me; for Apollonius' assistant agreed with him in that way and gave him a contract on those terms, but the scribe of the village Berky sent me the names just as they had been paying previously. (*Address*): Deliver to my master the landlord.'

3 ἀπαντήσε (l. -αι) is evidently a usage of the 'imperative infinitive' discussed by Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756 ff., esp. § 763, though none of the examples he cites is altogether parallel to the passage here. The sentence would read more smoothly if ἀπήντησα had been written.

4 αὐτῶν: i.e., the inhabitants of Berky.

5 ἐκ <κ>ριθῶν: one could also interpret the letters as a misspelling of ἀκριθον, but Papnuthis would hardly have hesitated to accept *citoc* on the ground that there was no barley in it: in the course of the fourth century *citoc* came to mean wheat as opposed to barley, and it was a normal requirement that wheat be delivered free of barley. See H. Cadell, *Münch. Beitr.* 66 (1974) 64-5 and *WB*, s.v. ἀκριθον.

7 γραμμ[α]τερός: the spelling is clear in l. 33; see Gignac, *Phonology*, 230-1. This seems much too late for the *γραμματεὺς πόλεως* as discussed by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig, 1917) 160 ff. Possibly we are to see in this *γραμματεὺς* the secretary of the city council of Oxyrhynchus, elsewhere called *κρείβας*. The discussion in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971) 39-41 does not indicate that that official had access to tax rolls, but considering the activity of the council in tax matters it would seem almost inevitable that he would have had.

8 Psinour and Praous do not occur elsewhere in the archive, and their position is hard to determine. The fact that the names on the collection list 'belonged' or 'appertained' to them plainly did not mean that Papnuthis was freed of responsibility for collecting from the persons listed, but only that he could normally have expected help in doing so. One might think of tax office assistants with somewhat less authority than Papnuthis himself but not directly under his direction, or perhaps of such village officials as comarchs. Papnuthis believed that another landlord of his could intimidate Psinour into working (26), but that does not bring us very far.—The name Psinour is not found in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

14 μάλαμ.εἰς: the word-division is presumably μάλα μ.εἰς or μάλ' αμ.εἰς; the sense may be 'you know well' or 'understand well' (imperative). -εἰς suggests a second person singular or an aorist passive construing with μάθε, but no suitable word occurs to me. μάθεις is not a very likely form, and is palaeographically unconvincing as well. μανθάνεις may have been meant, but it was not written.

15 κα<γ>κέλλου: this designation for the official grain measure at Oxyrhynchus is attested from the early first century AD (XII 1447 4 n.) until late into the Byzantine period. The fullest recent sketch of Egyptian grain measures is by R. P. Duncan-Jones in *Chiron* 9 (1979) 347-75.

15-18 ὁ πρεπόσιτος αὐτῶν . . . ἀπετὶ αὐτοῖς ὡς βούλετε: compare the charge laid against the comarchs of Caranis in a petition to the prefect of Egypt, ἀπ[αι]τήεις (l. -εἰς) πεποίηται ὡς βούλονται, said to have been possible because of the collaboration of the *praepositus pagi* (P. Cair. Isid. 73. 5). In this papyrus, however, there is no obvious implication of wrong-doing. I presume that 'their *praepositus*' means the *praepositus* of the pagus in which Berky was located; cf. 3425 6-7 n. and 30 below.

16 As a word to govern στρατιώτας in 17 must somewhere be read it is possible that the end of the lacuna should be interpreted as ἤνε<γ>κεν or a compound of that verb. Omission of γ before κ is common (Gignac, *Phonology* p. 116), and this papyrus has another example of the phenomenon in κα<γ>κέλλου, 15. For the employment of soldiers in collecting taxes see R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1963), esp. pp. 60-2.

19 αὐτῶν apparently refers to other persons in Papnuthis' party.

20 δευου: perhaps for δεῦρο, 'come', but probably the pen-stroke needed to change these letters to δέχου was omitted by accident.

ἐὼν . . . εὔρωμεν: it would be easy to correct to εὔρωμεν, as Papnuthis is wholly indifferent to the distinction between ο and ω, but the indicative may be right; cf. 3417 17 n.

22 β.ελεύομεν: perhaps {β} κελεύομεν. The stray β seems odd in that case, but the scribe may have started to write βιαζόμεθα.

23-4 ὑποδέχι and ὑποδέχομεν must come from an active by-form of ὑποδέχομαι.

26 Both Psinour and Praous had refused to assist Papnuthis, but only Psinour is to receive a warning. If this is not sheer forgetfulness on the part of Papnuthis, it indicates that Praous' grounds for refusal were acceptable and Psinour's were not (ll. 10-13).

27-8 Perhaps ὑποθή[[ει]ν in the sense of 'propose', though the supplement seems a bit short.

29 The thought appears to be 'Apollonius' assistant has begun to collect with the available measure, just as Eulogius did'.

30 πάλω seems unavoidable if λῆ is correct, but the word-order would be strange. Not πάλωι, 'our former division'.

32 αὐτοῦ: probably Apollonius, conceivably Eulogius.

33 For the other late references to village *γραμματεῖς* see XIX 2235 11 n., P. Cair. Isid. 68. 9 and 71. 10.

34 ὀνόματα . . . τελοῦντες: the names are plainly those of taxpayers, so *τελοῦντες* is construed *ad sensum*. Apparently Papnuthis means that some comparatively recent change in the taxation rate or procedure had not yet found its way into the village rolls: it may be connected with the question of which measure was to be used.

35 The roughly drawn and much damaged design looks like a tall rectangle with three or four extra horizontals linking the long sides. It marks the place where the letter would have been tied and possibly sealed, cf. 3396 32 n.

3401. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(82-85)d

8 × 10.5 cm

Fourth century

Dorotheus thanks his brother for the information that solidi might be had favourably from a certain Alexandrian. The tip has proved correct, and he now asks for money with which to buy some quickly, as a rumour that the *aurum tironicum* (cf. 3424 9 n.) is soon to be collected has created a special demand for gold coins and the price is rising daily.

On the back, written across the fibres, is a now almost wholly illegible letter which begins κυρίω μ[ου ἀ]δ[ελ]φ[ῶ]φ[ῶ] ² Δωροθέω . . . [³ χαίρειν. Parts of 8 lines follow.

κυρίω μου ἀδελφῶ Παπνουθίω

Δωρόθεος χαίρειν.

κ[α]λῶς ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τ[ῶν]

[ν]ομιματίων· ἐζήτησα γὰρ κ[αί]

5 [ε]ὔρον τὴν ποσότητα παρὰ

[τῶ] Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐκ (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) Ἄτιν[?

[σπο]ύδ[α]σον οὖν ἀπόστειλόμ

[μ]οι τὸ κέρμα ἐν τῇ αὔριον, ἐ-

[πεί]περ γέγονεν φήμη περὶ

10 [το]ῦ χρυσοῦ τῶν τιρόνων κα[ί]

[π]άντες ζητῶ νομιμα[ά]τια

καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν <ν> ἀναβένι ἢ

[τι]μή. ἀλλὰ ἐν τάχει ἀπόστειλο[ν]

[τὸ] κέρμα ἵνα ἀγοράσωμ[εν]

4 l. νομιματίων

6 l. Ἀλεξανδρεῖ

7 l. ἀπόστειλον

10 l. τιρόνων

11 l. ζητοῦσι

12 l. ἀναβαίνει

13 l. τάχει, ἀπόστειλον

14 ἵνα; l. ἀγοράσωμεν

'To my lord brother Papnuthis, greeting from Dorotheus. You did well to write to me about the solidi, for I inquired and found the quantity with the Alexandrian at 1,350 (+ ?) myriads of denarii. Make haste therefore to send me the money tomorrow, seeing that there has been a rumour about the gold for the recruits and everyone is looking for solidi and the price is going up every day. But send me the money quickly so that we can buy . . .'

5 [ε]ῥρον rather than ἡῥρον is the standard form in this archive. Cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 266 (9).
5-6 παρὰ [τῷ] Ἀλεξανδρεὺς: instead of τῷ it might be possible to read a short name, e.g. παρὰ [Ἡ]ρῶ] Ἀ., but the text is more probable.

6 One more figure may have been lost at the end of the line, but in any case a price between 1,350 and 1,359 myriads of denarii. To judge from the few other rates quoted in this archive or other plainly contemporary texts, this is a very low figure: cf. 2,250 myriads in P. Osl. III 88. 19 and 3426 3, 2,020 myriads in IX 1223 29 ff., 2,000 myriads in P. Osl. III 162 (see 3402 4-5 n.). 3429 18 is still lower, working out to 1,245 myriads; but the same account also records a price of 3,245 myriads (24). For more general treatments of gold prices, see West and Johnson, *Currency* 158-70; R. Rémondon, *CE* 32 (1957) 130-46; J. Rea, *CE* 49 (1974) 163-74; XLIII 3121. Some more prices are cited in the Vienna texts published in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 97-106, which are apparently rather earlier than our archive. Cf. further the article 'Currency in the Fourth Century and the Date of CPR V 26' in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111-24.

12-13 ἀναβένι ἢ [τι]μῆ: cf. IX 1223 32 for the corresponding use of καταβαίνω for falling prices.

3402. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(68-69)b (back)

11 × 12.5 cm

Fourth century

The chief interest of this note from Dorotheus informing his brother that he has sent him some money under guard is the definition of μονάς in its rare use as a monetary term. On palaeographical grounds alone the reading is unfortunately ambiguous, but the choice rests between a myriad of denarii and a myriad of myriads. Only the last makes economic sense; cf. 4-5 n. On the other side is 3421.

κυρίου μου ἀδελφῷ

Παπνουθίσι Δωρόθεος χαί(ρειν).

ἀπέστειλα δι(ὰ) τοῦ φύλακος

χρυσῶν νο(μισμάτια) δ καὶ ἀργυρίου

5 μονάδων μία(ν), (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων ?) (μυριάδα) α, καὶ

φρο() Ἀλέξανδρος (δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) ,ε.

ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι

π[ο]λλοῖς χρόνοις.

1 l. κυρίω 2 l. Παπνουθίσι; χαί 3 l. ἀπέστειλα; δι 4 νο 5 * ρ ρ 6 * ρ

'To my lord brother Papnuthis, greeting from Dorotheus. I have sent by agency of the guard 4 solidi in gold and one unit of silver, 1 myriad of myriads [i.e., 100,000,000] denarii, and by agency of the guard Alexandrus (?) 5,000 myriads of denarii. I pray for your health for many years.'

4-5 ἀργυρίου μονάδων: μονάς as a monetary unit has previously occurred in the papyri only in P. Osl. III 162. 3 and 6 and IX 1223 31. In the first of these texts, six μονάδες were used to purchase

thirty solidi. West and Johnson suggested on that basis that the μονάς was 'apparently a pound of silver bullion . . . indicating a ratio of gold to silver of 1 to 14.4' (*Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton, 1944, p. 131). The other text gives no clue to the meaning, but ours restates the sum in myriads of denarii. Regrettably, the papyrus is broken away immediately after the denarius sign: the trace which I have interpreted as the remnant of (μυριάδων) could also, though somewhat less well, be explained as a descending central cross stroke from (δηναρίων). But if a μονάς were no more than a single myriad, as that view would require, then P. Osl. 162 (which is almost certainly part of this archive) would show solidi being sold at only 2,000 denarii apiece. As that is approximately a ten-thousandth of the expected price at the period (cf. 3401 6 n.), only the reading printed is plausible.

6 φρο() Ἀλέξανδρος: perhaps φρο(υρός) Ἀλέξανδρος, i.e. διὰ τοῦ φρουροῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

7 ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι: some other examples of this formula without εε or ὑμάς are collected in F. Ziemann, *De epistularum graecarum formulis sollemnibus quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Halle, 1910) 336 n. 1.

3403. LETTER FROM MARIA TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(35-38)b

10 × 26 cm

Fourth century

A rather whiny letter to Papnuthis from his mother, complaining of neglect and asking for money. The hand is crabbed and difficult to decipher.

κυρίω μου νιῶ [Πα]πνουθίω

ἡ μήτηρ Μαρία πλείστα χαίρειν.

πάλιν ἐνέμενας τῇ ἀμελίᾳ τῇ σῆ καὶ

οὐκ ἔπεμψάς μοι φ[ά]σιω περὶ ὧν

5 κοὶ ἐνετειλάμεθα. κ[αλ]ῶς οὖν ποιή-

σης πέμψαι μοι τ[ὰ] ἀργύρια. καὶ ἡ σῆ

σύμβιος λέγει καὶ αὐτῇ ἵνα ἀποστείλῃς

αὐτῇ ἀργύρια εἰς μισθοὺς τῶν

λαναρίων. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃ καὶ

10 διὰ ταχέων πέμψῃς αὐτά. σπού-

δασον γράψαι ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ

ἔργου. ἔρρωσθαί εε

πολλοῖς χρόνοις

εὐχομαι.

Back: illegible remains of an address in one line.

3 l. ἐνέμενες 5 l. ἐνετειλάμεθα 7 l. λέγει, ἀποστείλῃς 8 μισ corrected from λανα
11 l. ἡμῖν

'To my lord son Papnuthis from his mother Maria, greeting. You have again been persisting in your neglect and have sent me no word concerning the matters I instructed you about. Therefore please send me the money. Your wife too says herself that you should send her money for the wages of the wool-workers. Do not be negligent, but send it quickly. Make haste to write to us about the work. I pray for your health for many years.'

5-6 κ[αλ]ῶς οὖν ποιήσης πέμψαι: cf. P. Abinn. 21. 5-6, καλῶς ποιήσης . . . ἀπαιτῆσαι; Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756 ff.

3404. LETTER FROM HIERACION TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(60-62)a

7.5 × 24.5 cm

Fourth century

Hieracion instructs Parnuthis to pay some money that he owes him to his 'brother' Diogenes, whom Hieracion is sending on purpose to fetch it. Parnuthis is further to ask whether Heras intends to pay the value of some chaff (as opposed, presumably, to delivering the chaff itself in kind for taxes), and, if he does, to have this money too turned over to Diogenes. This last transaction, according to Hieracion, will be advantageous for Heras; but it does not appear whether he means that the *adaeratio* had been fixed at a particularly low rate, simply that it was a convenient way for Heras to meet his liabilities, or whether he had something else in mind. Parnuthis is reminded concerning his own debt that Hieracion would not have offered certain cloaks without a report from Parnuthis. That sounds as though they had been given up in pledge, but apparently not to Parnuthis, so the nature of the arrangement is not very clear.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank except for some small blots of ink.

Ἱερακίων Παπνου-
θίῳ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
ἀπέστειλα πρὸς <ς> ἐ τὸν
ἀδελφόν μου Διογένην
5 ἵνα τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ
δῶς ἐκ πλήρους·
παρήγγιλα γὰρ αὐτῷ
ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ τὸ πᾶν μνη-
δὲν λάβῃς. οἶδες
10 γὰρ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἦς προσ-
φωνήσας οὐκ ἐδίδω(ν)
τὰς χλαμύδας. καὶ πύθου
τοῦ Ἡρᾶ εἰ δίδωσι τῆν
τιμὴν τοῦ ἀχύρου·
15 συνφέρει γὰρ αὐτῷ· ἢ ἂν δὲ
δίδι, δότω Διογέν[ε]ι.
ἐρρώσθαί σε εὖχο(μαι).

3 l. ἀπέστειλα
15 l. συνφέρει, ἐὰν

5 ἵνα; 1. αὐτῷ
16 l. δίδῃ

7 παρηγ'γιλα, 1. παρήγγιλα

9 l. οἶδας

11 εδιδῶ

3404. LETTER FROM HIERACION TO PARNUTHIS

'Hieracion to his brother Parnuthis, greeting. I have sent to you my brother Diogenes so that you can give him the money in full; for I have told him "If you don't get the full sum, don't take anything." For you know that if you had not reported I would not have given the cloaks. And find out from Heras whether he is giving the value of the chaff. For it is to his advantage, and if he gives it, let him give it to Diogenes. I pray for your health.'

5 αὐτῷ for αὐτῶ: see Gignac, *Phonology*, 226-8.

10-11 εἰ μὴ ἦς προσφωνήσας οὐκ ἐδίδω(ν): for the construction cf. B. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 519-24, esp. § 523.

3405. ORDER FROM HORION TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(39-42)b

10.5 × 7 cm

c. 360

A clumsily written and clumsily phrased note from Horion that Parnuthis is to pay 200 myriads of denarii to a cook named Macarius, to complete the total of 360 due him. A comparable order from Horion is 3391, which is signed in the same hand as 3405, though the bodies of the texts are different. He is also the author of a letter to Dorotheus, 3412.

This Horion is doubtless the *praepositus pagi* of 3392 g. He addresses Parnuthis as his 'assistant' in 3391 but as his 'brother' in 3405. It seems improbable that this difference reflects a change in the relative status of the men, for Parnuthis is on general grounds unlikely ever to have become approximately the social equal of so important an official as a *praepositus pagi*, and he clearly functions as an underling in this text no less than in 3391. 3407 18 probably gives another example of ἀδελφός used in addressing social inferiors; cf. *WB*, s.v. 6.

A very faded document on the back may be another order to pay.

Ἱωρίων Παπνουτίῳ ἀδελφῷ χ(αίρειν).
παράσχου Μακαρίῳ μαγειρῶ εἰς
κοι(μ)πλήρωσιν τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξήκον-
τα καὶ νοῖν παράσχου διακοσίας,
5 (δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) σ' μόνας. Ἱωρίων σε(σημείωμαι).

1 1st ω in Ἱωρίων corrected from α 3 l. συμπλήρωσιν 4 l. νῶν 5 × Ϛ

'Horion to his brother Parnuthis, greeting. Supply to Macarius the cook, to make up the three hundred and sixty (myriads of denarii), even now supply two hundred, 200 myriads of denarii, only. I, Horion, have signed.'

3406. LETTER FROM CLEMATIA TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(50-53)c

15 × 12 cm

Fourth century

Some instructions from the landlady to her caretaker, written with a thick pen and rather smeared. The words *κυτόφακον* (4) and *μελικηριδιον* (11) seem to be new.

π(αρά) Κληματίης γεούχου
 Παπνουτίου προνοητῆ Σαδάλου χαίρειν.
 παραμέτρησον εἰς τὸ πακτωνᾶριν Παγᾶτος
 5 κυτωφάκου ἀρτάβας ἕξ ἢ ἔχομεν ἔδξ,
 καὶ βοήθησον Παγᾶ ἢν ἔχομεν ἐκὶ ἔκ-
 τακτα τῆ<ς> τρύγης, καὶ πείρα καὶ ἔρεον
 ἀνένικον διὰ τοῦ πάκτωνος καὶ μὴ ἀ-
 μελήσῃται διὰ τὴν ὀκτώπλιθον.
 καὶ ἀπέτῃσον τὸν Παῦμι<ν> τὰ δύο κερά-
 10 μα τοῦ μέλιτος διὰ τὴν ἰορτῆν
 καὶ τὰ μελικιρίδια καὶ Παγᾶν τὸ ἔρεον.

Back: illegible remains of an address in one line.

2 l. Παπνουτίω 3 l. πακτωνάριον 4 l. κυτοφάκου, ἔχομεν 5 l. ἔχομεν, ἐκεῖ
 6 l. ἔριον 7 l. ἀνένεγκον 7-8 l. ἀμελήσῃται 8 ν of τὴν written over ο?; l. ὀπτόπλιθον
 9 l. ἀπαίτησον 10 l. ἰορτῆν 11 l. μελικηριδία, ἔριον

From Clematia, landlady, to Parnuthis, caretaker at Sadalu, greeting. Measure out six artabas of wheat and lentils into Pagas' skiff so that we may have it here, and assist Pagas so that we may have the extra payments of the vintage there, and try also to bring wool up with the boat, and do not delay because of the baked brick. And collect from Paymis the two ceramia of honey for the festival as well as the honeycakes (*or* -combs), and from Pagas the wool.

5-6 ἔκτακτα were extra payments in kind that lessees presented to their landlords in addition to rental proper. Arrangements to give such were common in rentals of vineyards, and that fits *τρύγη* here, but what Clematia means in detail remains obscure.

7 For ἀνένικον = ἀνένεγκον cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 683, 2.

7-8 ἀμελήσῃται: Parnuthis had an associate named Hatres (3407). Clematia is more probably thinking of them both than using a plural of respect to Parnuthis alone.

8 ὀκτώπλιθον: of the words which begin with πλ- only πλίνθος is likely to be the second element of this compound. The omission of the first ν would be commonplace in these texts: then Rea's suggestion ὀπτόπλιθον is hard to resist. Confusion of κ and π is certainly not common, but Gignac cites some examples of κροκείμενον for προκείμενον (*Phonology*, 68).

10 ἰορτῆν: for other examples of this spelling see Gignac, *Phonology*, 249.

11 καὶ Παγᾶν τὸ ἔρεον: governed by ἀπέτῃσον in 9.

3407. LETTER FROM THE LANDLADY TO PARNUTHIS AND HATRES

44 5B.63/(5-7)a

8.5 × 25 cm

Fourth century

A landlady, perhaps the Clematia of 3406, instructs her *προνοητής* Parnuthis and her *φροντιστής* Hatres to have some rock hauled for her 'brothers' Nepotianus and

3407. LETTER FROM THE LANDLADY TO PARNUTHIS AND HATRES 109

Diogenes. Nepotianus occurs only here in the archive; whether Hatres and Diogenes are to be identified with other men of the same name in other documents is uncertain. Line 16 contains the earliest papyrological reference to Sunday as the Lord's Day (*κυριακή*), though the term *ἡμέρα ἡλίου* is attested in AD 327 (cf. XLIV 3174 17 n.; the text of the wooden tablet referred to there—really two tablets—is no. 17b in E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule*, ed. 2, Bonn, 1913. For the date see *BASP* 17 (1980) 17). Traces of ink on the back may come from an address, but a tear has removed too much to allow a reading. The absence of any closing formula is remarkable.

π(αρά) τῆς γεούχου Παπνουθίω
 προ(νοητῆ) καὶ Ἄτρῃ φρ(οντιστῆ) χ(αίρειν).
 σπουδάσαται τὸν ταυρε-
 λάτην μετὰ τῶν μόσχων
 5 καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ καὶ χοινίω(ν)
 αὐτῶν ἐξέλασε ἐν τῇ
 σήμερον εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον
 ἐποίκιον Ἀκινδύνου πρὸς
 κύρην λίθου τῶν κυρί-
 10 ων μου ἀδελφῶν Νεπω-
 τIANOῦ καὶ Διογένους· οἶδα-
 τε καὶ ὑμῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἴσιν ξέ-
 νοι. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐν
 τῇ σήμερον, ἐπειδὴ συν-
 15 ἔθεντο βαστάξαι ἐν τῇ
 κυριακῇ{ν} ἡμέρα, τουτ-
 ἔστιν αὔριον ια-
 μὴ οἶν, ἀδελφοί, δόξῃτε
 ἀμελήσῃ καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆ
 20 τὸ ἔργον τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων, ἐμέναν δὲ οὐκ ὀλί-
 γην ὕβριν προσηγέγκα-
 τε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ τροχοῦ
 ἀρκετοί ἐστε. ἐν τῇ αὔριον
 25 ὁ ἀδελφός Λούκιος ἀπαντᾷ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

1 π' 2 προ> φρς 3 l. σπουδάσαται 4 χοινίω 6 l. ἐξέλασαι 12 l. ὑμεῖς,
 εἰς 19 l. ἀμελήσαι 21 ἐμέναν = ἐμοί

'From the landlady to Papnuthis, caretaker, and Hatres, foreman, greeting. Make haste to send out the bull-driver together with the bullocks, the yoke, and their ropes today to our farmstead which is named after Akindynus to haul rocks for my brothers Nepotianus and Diogenes: you know yourself they are no strangers. But by all means do so today, as they have agreed to take them away on Sunday, that is, tomorrow, the 11th. Therefore, brothers, do not decide to delay, with the result that the work of the men would be hindered and you would bring me no little distress. As for the wheel, you are sufficient [i.e., can settle the matter on your own authority?]. Tomorrow brother Lucius is coming to you.'

8 *ἐποίκιον* Ακινδύνου: not otherwise known.

15-16 τῆ κυριακῆ(ν) ἡμέρα: the only examples of κυριακή 'Sunday' cited in the *WB* come from the sixth century. In later publications I have found κυριακή only in SB X 10657. 5, dated on palaeographic grounds to the fifth century; but the context does not show what the word means there. Note that it is not yet used substantively here.

It should perhaps be remarked that the performance of heavy labour on Sunday had not yet been forbidden by either the state or the church. Constantine's edict of 321 requiring cessation of most business on the *venerabili die solis* explicitly excluded agricultural workers (*Cod. Just.* 3, 12, 2(3)). A Sunday of rest for all was not decreed by the church till 585 (*Concilium Matisconense* § 1, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Legum Sectio III Concilia* I, pp. 165-6). Identification of Sunday with the Sabbath first appears in Carolingian times. See e.g. *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*³, xviii 521 ff.

18 It is noteworthy that the writer does not hesitate to address two employees as ἀδελφοί. A trace of her Christianity, a sign that their social ranks were indeed about equal, or simply common usage? Cf. 3405 introd.

18-20 μὴ . . . δόξητε ἀμελήσει καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆ τὸ ἔργον: for the construction cf. e.g. P. Cair. Masp. I 67078. 8, μὴ ἀμελήσεις τοῦτο καὶ ζημιωθῆ τὰ γενήματα. See H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1932) 61-7.

21-3 ἐμέναν . . . ὕβριν προσνέγκατε standing by itself should mean 'you have caused me distress', but the context here requires 'you would cause me distress'. Possibly, then, one should correct to προσενέγκητε, but more probably the construction is acceptable folk idiom as it stands. ἐμέναν could also be divided ἐμὲν ἄν, but the word order would be peculiar, and ἄν was not used with ἐνεδρευθῆ above.

3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(26-28)a

9.5 × 27 cm

Fourth century

Besides the present text, Dorotheus' 'father' Chaeremon wrote 3409-10, and very probably P. Osl. III 88; cf. p. 76. He apparently held a position superior to that of Dorotheus in the collection of taxes, as his letters are full of requests and demands, some of which sound unrealistic, if they were meant in seriousness. The possibility that he was a *praepositus pagi* should not be discounted. He does not make that impression, but we have little to judge by. His style is vigorously colloquial, and the content of his correspondence is of more than usual interest. Despite his reference to Dorotheus as *υἱός* he is not among the persons whom Papnuthis greets by name in 3396.

κυρίω μου υἱῶ

Δωροθέω Χαιρήμων.

[c]πούδασον ἐν τῇ σήμερο(ν)

Βαροῦσιν τὸν σύμμαχον

5 ἢ ἄλλον εἰς Ψῶβθιν τοὺς

4 συμμαχῶ

3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

κωμάρχας ἀνενέκε, καὶ
τοὺς σιτολόγους τῆς λοι-
πάδος τῶν κριθῶν καὶ
τοὺς ἐπὶ σιππίου τῆς Ταμ-
10 πεμοῦ ἀπόστιλον φέρον-
τες τὸ σιππίον καὶ τὸ ἀνα-
βολικὸν καὶ τὸ πρωτίον
καὶ τοὺς σιτολόγους τῶν
κριθῶν. σπούδασον δὲ τὸν
15 ὀλοκόττινον τῶν κριθῶ(ν)
λαβῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων
καὶ ἀποσ(τ)ίλε, καὶ τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς
'Ινδίας τῆ κεφαλ(ῆ) σὺν ἀλλαγῆς
(δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) μ, (γίνονται) (δην.) (μυρ.) Ἐρκ, καὶ λοιπὸν
20 τὸ βαρύτατον τῆς ἀπετήσεως
πάσης τὸ(ν) χρυδὸν καὶ τὰς ἀννώ-
γ[α]ς] κ[αί] εἴπερ ἔργον ποιούσι τὸ
ἀπ[αιτη]θὲν ἀπόστιλον. ἔπιξον
τοὺς σιτολόγους τὸν εἶτον ἐν-
25 κλίαι ἄχρι κόκκου καὶ τοὺς
ἀπὸ Κατύρου. μνήσθητι πάσης
τῆς καθολικότητος. ἐρῶσθαί
σε εὐχομαι.

Postscript on the back:

τὰς ἀποχὰς τοῦ λίνου τῆς Ταμπεμοῦ
30 καὶ τὰ ἐντάγια Μέλανος ἀπόστιλον.

Address on the back:

× ×
κυρίω μου υἱῶ × × Δωροθέω
× × Χαιρήμων
× ×
× ×
× ×
× ×

6 l. ἀνενέγκαι 10-11 ἀπόστειλον φέροντας 15 ολοκοτ'τινον, κριθῶ 17 l. ἀποστειλαι
19 * Ϛ, / * Ϛ 20 l. ἀπαιτήσεως 23 l. ἀπόστειλον, ἐπιξον 24 l. ἐγκλείσαι 30 l. ἀπόστειλον

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. Speed Barusis the guard or someone else to Psobthis today to bring up the comarchs, and send the sitologi for the arrears of barley and the men in charge of tow at Tampemu bringing the tow, and the anabolicum, and the proteion, and the sitologi of the barley. And make haste to receive the solidus for the barley from the responsible persons and to send it, and also the silver money for India, 40 myriads of denarii per head including exchange, comes to 5,120 myriads of denarii, and finally the most burdensome part of the whole collection, the gold and the annonae, and if they are working send what has been collected. Make the sitologi lock up the grain to the last kernel, and (press) the men from Satyru. Bear in mind the full amount due for the catholicus. I pray for your health. (Postscript): Send the receipts for the flax from Tampemu and the chits of Melas. (Address): To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon.'

3-6 [c]πούδαρον . . . ἀνεέκκε: in the context of this archive, it is much more likely that this means the guard is to be sent to Psobthis in order to bring the comarchs from there to Oxyrhynchus, than that the comarchs of some unnamed village are to be brought by the guard to Psobthis: see 3423 1-3 n.

4 Barusis the *symmachos* is presumably identical with the *phrouos* of 3409 3. The name is not listed in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*. On *symmachoi* see the commentary to P. Cair. Isid. 80.

6 ἀνεέκκε (l. ἀνεέγκαι): for other examples of the assimilation of γ before κ in Chaeremon's letters see 3409 18 and 27; cf. Gignac, *Phonology*, 171-2.

7-8 *αιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν*: sitologi remained responsible for the grain which was to be collected during their term of office until the entire amount due had been collected, even if this required several years; see e.g. P. Cair. Isid. p. 16.

10-13 ἀπόστιλον φέροντες . . . αιτολόγους: in this list of taxes and persons to be sent, *αιπίον* is object of φέροντες while *αιτολόγους* again depends directly on ἀπόστιλον. Which verb governs ἀναβολικόν and πρωτίον is unclear, but an immediate reversion to ἀπόστιλον would raise the fewest problems of interpretation.

11 The ἀναβολικόν in Egypt is known to have been collected in linen, in tow, in finished articles of clothing, and in money: that collectors of tow should here be required to bring ἀναβολικόν with them would therefore be understandable, but ἀναβολικόν may be the object of ἀπόστιλον rather than of φέροντες. According to the *Historia Augusta*, *anabolicae species* were part of the *vectigal ex Aegypto* established for the city of Rome by Aurelian (*Vita Aureliani* xlv 1). There is a good bibliography on the tax in Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 191-2; cf. also A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 70-4.

12 Apart from the doubtful possibility of P. Ross.-Georg. III 6. 2 and 5, a tax called πρωτίον is otherwise known only from SB V 7756. 4 and 16 (Oxyrhynchus, 27 September 359). In that text, as here, πρωτίον is paid together with ἀναβολικόν, but both charges there are to be paid in money, while our papyrus presumably refers to a charge in kind. If the word is to be construed with φέροντες rather than with ἀπόστιλον it must have fallen within the competence of collectors of tow. SB V 7756 contrasts πρωτίον with δευτερίον. Otherwise there is no real clue to its meaning. Johnson and West suggested translating 'first instalment' (*Byzantine Egypt*, p. 266).

13-14 τοὺς αιτολόγους τῶν κριθῶν: it is not clear to me whether this amounts to a repetition of the request for τοὺς αιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν (7-8) or refers to a different group of sitologi.

14-15 τὸν ὀλοκόττινον τῶν κριθῶν: I find no other mention of this charge. It may indeed be nothing more than an *adaeratio* on some of the barley due, but it is tempting to see in it an extra tax of some sort, comparable perhaps to the 5½ denarii per artaba shipping fee plus 1 denarius per modius collected on barley in P. Cair. Isid. 47.

17-18 τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς Ἰνδίας: a head-tax for ναῦται Ἰνδίας is attested in SB V 7756. 8 and 17, at a rate doubtfully read as 56 myriads per contributor; see H. I. Bell's note to the editio princeps, *Mélanges Maspero* ii 109-10.

18 ἐν ἀλλαγῆς: it seems simplest to take this as a reference to money-changing fees of some kind, but two other possibilities should also be considered. (a) A tax receipt of the Arabic period includes a payment λόγῳ ἀλλαγῆς(ς) να(ν)τῶν, 'for a relay of sailors' (*APF* 5, 1913, p. 190, l. 10). If sailors are involved in 3408 as well as in SB 7756, then 'money for India, including a crew' may be the meaning. (b) συναλλαγή appears as a monetary term in some sixth-century papyri: see West and Johnson, *Currency*, 148-50 and P. Mich. XIII 662. 31 note. That suggests the possibility of reading συναλλαγῆς (δηναρίων), 'denarii of *synallage*', a construction which would avoid assuming a genitive after ἐν (but cf. 3384 11 n.) and might mean 'at the current rate of exchange'.

19 If each contributor paid 40 myriads, then 5,120 myriads due fell on a group of 128 persons (adult male population of Psobthis?).

21 τὸ(ν) χρυσόν: Chaeremon's letters are elsewhere accurate in the use of nus, so possibly τὸ χρυσόν should be kept uncorrected as a neuter by-form; cf. e.g. 3423 5 with note. For a list of early Byzantine taxes in gold see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 204-5; cf. 3397 22 and 3423 5 and 7.

21-2 ἀννώγ[αc]: the chief land tax in kind. See for Egypt especially Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 94-112, and for the empire in general A. Cécati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1975).

22 ἔργον: not ἔλεον or ἔρεον. The sense is apparently that if the collectors have not finished their work yet, nevertheless whatever they have already brought in is to be turned over to Chaeremon immediately.

25 ἄχρι κόκκου: cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 110, ἄ]χρι ξέctου ἐνόc.

25-6 τοὺς ἀπὸ Κατύρου is governed by ἐπιξον in 23.

27 For καθολικότης in the sense used here cf. 3423 19-20 n.

31-2 For the purpose of the design cf. 3396 32 n. This one has no lines parallel with the ligature, but only the remains of a lattice-work pattern over it, cf. 3409 29-30 n.

3409. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(55)a

12.5 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

The background of this letter seems to be as follows. Some time previously, a group of comarchs from Tampemu had come up to Chaeremon in Oxyrhynchus, presumably in response to such orders as we hear about in 3397 and 3423. At the end of their visit, they had been instructed to leave the city, presumably in order that they should go back to their village and carry out their responsibilities in the collection of taxes. Some other comarchs, however, were being held under arrest; and two of those from Tampemu objected so vigorously to co-operating till these men had been released that Chaeremon had them arrested too. Now Chaeremon writes that he has been searching for those comarchs who had remained free, and, not finding them in the city, he had supposed that they were with Dorotheus, who apparently is now in Tampemu; but a guard freshly come from Dorotheus reports that the comarchs are not with him. Chaeremon therefore asks Dorotheus to try to learn the whereabouts of the comarchs, and if they should still be in the city out of protest against the arrest of their comrades, then the wives of the prisoners are to be sent up to take their husbands' places. Cf. perhaps XVI 1835.

Besides the address, the back of the letter has the following notes, which may refer to the *tabularius* of 3411: Χωούτρος (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) v. | ² ὁμοίος (l. -ωc) (δην.) (μυρ.) χ.

For Chaeremon see 3408.

κυρίῳ μου υἱῷ Δωροθέῳ

Χαιρήμων.

τοῦ φρουροῦ Βαρούσιος ἀπαντή-

σαντος πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ εἶπέν μοι

5 εἶναι π[α]ρὰ σοὶ καὶ ἐξήτασα αὐτὸν

περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπεμοῦ ἐπιδη ἐξή-

τητα τοὺς κωμάρχας ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

οὐχ εὔρον αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς

δύο τοὺς κατακλείστους καὶ ἄλλο ἐνόμι-

10 ζον αὐτ[ο]ὺς ἐκβάντας καὶ ἐξήτασα[α]

αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν μὴ ἵναι παρὰ σοί. ἔαν

οὖν μάθης ὅτι οὐκ ἐξέβησαν ἀλλ[ᾶ]

ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἵναι καὶ ἐᾶ[ν]

μάθης τὸ ἔτιον διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξέβη-

15 σαν καὶ ἢ ἢ πρόφασις αὐτή, τὸ κα-

τακλίσαι με δύο ὅτι οὐκ ἔκβενον

εἰ μὴ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπολυθῶσιν, τὰς γ[υ-]

νέκας αὐτῶν ἀνένεκκον ἐπὶ τ[ῆν]

πόλιν καὶ ἔνκλιον εἶνα οἱ ἄρξε-

20 νες ἀπολυθῶσιν, ὥστε νομίζω

εἰ μὴ μωρὰ μωροῖς τῇ ἐκῆα ε[ο]ν

περιπα...σιν· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὀδεύ-

ει παρὰ σοὶ κἂν μὴ ἐκβῶσι ἀπαί-

τησον. γράψον μοι οὖν περὶ τού-

25 του· ἢ γὰρ ψελλίς τοῦ λάκκου μου ἔπε-

σεν καὶ [.]ίλος με διώκει κα[ὶ] διὰ τῆν

ἀνάγκην ἐξέβην. ἐρρώσθαί [σε] εὖ-

χομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

Address on the back:

κυρίῳ μου υἱῷ × × Δωροθέῳ

30 × × Χαιρήμων

× ×

× ×

1 υἱῷ 6 l. ἐπειδὴ 9 l. κατακλείστους 11 l. εἶπεν, εἶναι 13 l. εἶναι 14 l. αἴτιον
15 l. εἰ ἢ 15-16 2nd κ in κατακλίσαι corrected from β; l. κατακλείσαι 16 l. ἔκβενον = ἐξέβενον
17-18 l. γυναῖκας 18 l. ἀνένεκκον 19 l. ἵνα 21 ο in μωροῖς corrected from ι, τ in τῆ corr.
from ο; l. αἰκία 26 l. διώκει 27 l. ἀνάγκην

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. The guard Barusis came to me and told me that he was in your service, so I asked him about the people from Tampemu, as I looked for the comarchs in the city and found only the two that were locked up and I supposed they had left, so I asked him and he said they were not with you. If, then, you find out that they have not left but are still in the city, and if you find out the reason why they have not left, and if that reason is the very fact that I locked up two of them because they would not leave unless the others were released, send their wives to the city and lock them up so that the males can be released, as I suppose—unless (this is ?) foolishness for fools—that with your torment (I shall get the best of them?). But if the work is getting along with you even if they don't leave make the collection. Write to me about this matter then; for the vault (?) of my well has collapsed and NN is prosecuting me and I have been forced to leave. I pray for your health for many years. (Back): To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon.'

3 For Barusis see 3408 4 n. There is more ink at the end of the line than needed for ἀπαντη- alone. Probably a false start was made on the following sigma.

9 καὶ ἄλλο for καὶ ἐγώ: see Gignac, *Phonology* 319.

16 ἔκβενον: for other examples of the omission of augment in compound verbs see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 250.

21 εἰ μὴ μωρὰ μωροῖς: that 'a fool talks nonsense' was proverbial (cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 369, μῶρα . . . μῶρος λέγει, LXX Isaiah 32. 6, ὁ γὰρ μωρὸς μωρὰ λαλήσει); further the Latin *quasi stultus stultis persuadere*, A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, reprint Hildesheim 1962, p. 333. But the point of the collocation here is not clear. Does he mean 'the comarchs are fools, and so we must treat them as such', or 'this plan ought to work, unless I am being foolish in giving orders to people too incompetent to carry them out'?

ἐκῆα: no papyrological examples of αἰκία seem to have come to light since the publication of *WB* I, but cf. 3430 24-5 n. What Chaeremon hopes to accomplish 'by means of the punishment you can inflict' should be expressed by the infinitive in 22, but I can find no attested word that will do. As a new coinage, περιπατᾶσιν would make sense and fit the traces. A quite different line of interpretation would be to take ἐκῆα as a misspelling of οἰκία, and seek to read περιποιήσιν in 22, that is, 'I expect to profit your household'; but ἐκῆα = οἰκία is extreme, and περιποιήσιν was almost surely not written.

25 ψελλίς: this form apparently recurs only in P. Ross.-Georg. II 33. 4, ἀν δὲ γένηται εἰ[ς] 12]κου ἢ ψελλίδος; our text suggests that the last word in lacuna may have been λάκκου. Of the various meanings *LSJ* records for ψαλίς, those referring to vaulted enclosures seem relevant (s.v., II), but none is sufficient to explain what is meant here. The brick section of the well above the ground, perhaps, or a rounded sun-shade? Cf. PIFAO II 12. 9 n. and *REG* 91 (1978) 1-11.

26 Possibly Ζ[ο]ίλος.

29-30 For the design cf. 3396 32 n., 3408 31-2 n.

3410. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(1-3)a

9 × 27 cm

Fourth century

The greater part of this text is very badly preserved, but those lines which have survived reasonably well are not without interest. The price of barley cited in 17, 225 myriads of denarii per artaba, indicates a date late in the fourth century, as comparative figures show: cf. 13 talents 500 denarii = 2 myriads per artaba in AD 338 (I 85 = *Sel. Pap.* II 332(b). 17), 30 tal. = 4½ myr. some time near the middle of the century (P. Abinn. 43. 13-16), 600 tal. = 90 myr. in AD 372 (SB VI 9603(c) = P. Col. VII 184. 10-12), and 500 tal. = 75 myr. (SB VI 9603(a) = P. Col. VII 182. 9-12; the text's date of 372 has been thought an error for 373 (*CE* 50 (1975) 288-9), but cf. P. Col. VII pp. 201-2). Whether the SB prices prove that 3410 was written after

AD 372/3 is questionable, as those figures are for sales of barley with deferred delivery. If the thesis of a recent study of such texts is correct, the expected market price will have been higher, in this case most probably 135 and 112½ myriads (see R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85-96); and if comparison with wheat prices in the early empire is legitimate, a price range of 112½ to 225 myriads may have been possible within a single year because of seasonal price differences (*Chiron* 6 (1976) 243-5). Moreover, the money payment for *adaeratio* may have been set high in principle, and in 3410 the possibility of a penalty for arrears should be considered as well. For other price data from the fourth century see most recently R. S. Bagnall and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111-24.

κυρίω [μου υἱῶ]
 Δωροθέω
 Χαιρήμων.
 καὶ ο . μ . . ου ἔγραψα δι . .
 5 [.] και παρ' ὧν
 βο[ύλ]η ἀπόστειλον. ὅπως ἀ[πο-]
 στήλης συνβιβάζων τὸ λί-
 νον καὶ τὴν λοιπάδα τῆς
 καθόλου ἑ[π]ε[ρ]α[σ]ε[ρ]α[σ]α
 10 τὸ ἐλευόργιο[ν] καὶ τὰ ζμή-
 νη τον χ[. . .]ον καὶ τὸν κη-
 ρὸν καὶ τῆν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ
 τίτου καὶ τὴν ἀποχὴν τοῦ
 σιππίου καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν
 15 τῶν κ[ρ]ιθῶν τῶν λοιπάδω(ν)
 ὡς σοι μεταδέδωκα τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α
 ἐκ (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) κκε μόνον ἕσω πέν-
 τε ἡμερῶν· οὕτω γὰρ συνέθε-
 το Τούρβων. τὸν τίτον τῆς
 20 Κατύρου καὶ Κυνῶ ἐνβαλοῦ
 τῆν , τα τ[ῆ]ς Κατύρου·
 οὐ γὰρ π[.] αψόμεθα [
 τοὺς παλε[οὺς]
 Ταμπεμοῦ . [

6 l. ἀπόστειλον, ἀποστειλῆς 10 l. ἐλευόργιον 14 ἀπαίτησιν 15 λοιπαδῶ 16 ο
 17 * π, l. μόνων εἶσω 23 l. παλαιοὺς

25 Πανοπολιτ[
 χουσι κα[. . .]
 σοι τὸ ὑπ[
 τὴν ἐπι[
 καὶ . . θ[. . .] ἀ-]
 30 πόστειλον [
 τινὰς ἀπο[
 ἀποχὰς ἐμοῦ[υ]

Left margin :

τί ἕκαστος παρέχει. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.

Back, remnants of a postscript :

[. . .] αὐτῷ γράψαι
 35 [. . .] . . . εον του
 [. . .] τὸν παλεόν
 [. . .] καὶ εὐ οἶδας τὰ εθ-
 [. . .] ρνηουν
]ρη[c. 9]α

Address, upside down in respect to postscript :

40 [κυρίω μου υἱῶ] Δωροθέω Χαιρήμων

29-30 l. ἀπόστειλον 33 l. παρέχει 36 l. παλαιόν

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. I wrote . . . from whom you like send . . . see that you send it, including the flax and the arrears for the catholicus (?) . . . the oil mill and the bee-hives . . . and the wax and the lading of the wheat and the receipt of the tow and the collection of the arrears of barley, as I informed you, at 225 myriads of denarii exactly per artaba inside of five days, for that is the agreement Turbo made. Load the grain for Satyru and Cynopolis. . . .'

9 καθόλου: the context is not clear enough to say whether the sense is 'the remainder of the whole . . . ' or 'the remainder of dues for the catholicus'. For the latter possibility see 3423 19-20 n. At the end of the line ἐ[π]ε[ρ]α[σ]ε[ρ]α[σ]α, 'having inspected', would be more tempting if a verb ἐπισκοπάζω were elsewhere attested. Cf. 11 n.

10 Oil mills are again mentioned in these papers in 3420 44.

10-11 ζμήνη: Gignac could cite only the spelling with c for the Roman period (*Phonology*, 122), but the form with ζ also occurs several times in a text published in *BASP* 10 (1973) 5-6.

11 Assuming that the omicrons in τον χ[. . .]ον are to be respected, the obvious text is τὸν χ[όρτ]ον, but if χ[όρτ]ον is then parallel to ζμήνη the omission of καὶ before it is surprising and harsh. One could avoid that by reading, e.g., τὸν χ[ωρ]όν for τῶν χωρίων. Chaeremon is not much given to spelling errors of this sort, but μόνον stands for μόνων in 17 below. It is thinkable that ἐλευόργιο[ν] and ζμήνη are governed by a participle in line 9, τὸν χ[όρτ]ον then being the object of ἀ[πο]στέλλης (6-7); a comparable problem in construing occurs in 3408 10-13. If so, -αας in 9 is presumably the participial ending, but I have failed to find a convincing verb (cf. note there).

3411. LETTER FROM CHOÛS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(5-7)b

8 × 27 cm

Fourth century

An archivist named Choüs writes to Dorotheus in unusually impure Greek that he will have his foster-son repay a loan of chaff if Dorotheus brings the lad up on a pending trip. The language implies that Dorotheus is located 'down' in respect of Choüs, either in the countryside while Choüs works in Oxyrhynchus (cf. 3397 introd.), or perhaps simply in the nome as opposed, e.g., to Alexandria. However that may be, the young man is apparently on Dorotheus' staff, and Choüs hopes that the promise of quick payment will induce Dorotheus to include him among his following for the trip.

The back is blank.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ
 Δωροθέου
 Χωοῦς ταβουλάριος
 χαίρειν.
 5 ἐπιδή ὁ τρόφι-
 μός μου Ἀκῶ-
 ριν χρεωστῆ ἄ-
 'χυρον' ἵνα οὖν ἀνα-
 λάβῃς κατῷ
 10 ἃ χρεωστῆ καὶ
 ὅτε μέλλεις
 ἔλθειν ἄνω
 ἔρχεται μετ' ἐσοῦ
 καὶ πληρώνῃ
 15 σε ὧδε ἄνω.
 ὡσπερ ἐκέλευ-
 σές με εἰς ἔργον
 ἐποίησα. ἀλλ' ὅρα
 μὴ ἀμελήῃς.
 20 καὶ σοὶ κέλευε
 εἰς ἃ δύναμι
 ἵνα δίδω σοι
 προέρευν. ἐρρω-
 σθαί σε εὖχο-
 25 μαι, ἀδελφε.

2 l. Δωροθέω 4 χαίρειν corrected from χαί/ ο τροφ 5 l. ἐπειδή 6-7 l. Ἀκῶρις χρεωστῆ
 8 ἵνα 9 l. κατῷ 10 l. χρεωστῆ 14 l. πληρώνῃ 16-17 l. ἐκέλευσας 17 ἐργῶ 20 l. εὖ
 21 l. δύναμαι 22 ἵνα; l. δίδω 23 1st ε in προέρευν corrected from α; l. προαίρευν

'To my lord brother Dorotheus from Choüs, *tabularius*, greeting. Seeing that my foster-son, Akoris, owes you chaff—in order, then, that you can collect for yourself what he owes you—and since you are about to come up, he will come with you and pay you up here. I have carried out your orders, but see that you are not slack. And do you order whatever lies within my power so that I can show you my good will. I pray for your health, brother.'

3 The *tabularius* was 'a subordinate official in the fiscal administration, chiefly concerned with taxes. . . . The activity of *tabularii* in the private field became similar to that of private notaries (*tabelliones*). In post-Justinian times there was no difference between *tabelliones* and *tabularii*.' (A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia, 1953, s.v. *tabularius*). To the examples of the word cited in S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona, 1971) add now SB X 10657. 2, P. Mich. XIII 673. 8, P. Tand. 19. 10, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 51 l. 12, and XLIII 3148 2. For the possibility that νομικός was sometimes used to translate *tabularius* see 3390 1 n.

19 μὴ ἀμελήῃς: usually μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, but cf. 3403 9 and Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 567.

20-1 κέλευε εἰς: not κελεύεις. P. J. Parsons compares the use of εἰς here with πρός in BGU III 948. 12-13, ποιῶ σοι εἰμάρτια πρὸς τὸ δύνωμι (l. δύνωμαι).

3412. LETTER FROM HORION TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(43-45)a

12.5 × 10 cm

c. 360

Horion, the *praepositus pagi* of 3391-2 and 3405, sends Dorotheus a soldier and an armed guard who are to collect a levy of wax for Alexandria. The rate of 10 pounds per hive seems heavy, but we do not know how often it was collected. Collection of wax is mentioned in 3410 11-12, and an *adaeratio* for the tax is attested in 3428 16. Otherwise the charge seems to be unknown.

The text is written across the fibres of the *recto*, as is shown by the edge of a sheet-join which runs through line 3. The back is blank.

Ὠρίων Δωροθέου βοηθ(ῶ)

χαίρειν.

ἀπέστειλα πρὸς καὶ Γερόντιον στρατιώτην
 καὶ Δημήτριον σύμμαχον στρατηγοῦ
 5 ὅπως ποιήσῃς τοὺς ὑπευθύνους
 πληρῶσαι αὐτοὺς κηροῦ λί(τρας) ι" τοῦ κηρῶνος
 καηκονος Ἀλεξανδρίας. ἀλλ' ὅρα
 μὴ κατάσχησιν αὐτοὺς ὥραν μίαν.
 καὶ ἀπόστειλον τὰ ἀργύρια διὰ Κοπρέως
 10 ἐν τῇ σήμερον. ἐρρωσθαι.

1 l. Δωροθέω 3 l. ἀπέστειλα, σὲ 5 l. ὅπως 9 l. ἀπόστειλον 10 l. ἐρρωσθε for
 ἔρρωσο? or ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι?

'Horion to Dorotheus, assistant, greeting. I have sent you Gerontius, a soldier, and Demetrius, a guard of the strategus, so that you can make the responsible parties pay them 10 pounds of wax per bee-hive and (?) . . . of Alexandria. But see that you don't hold them up a single hour. And send the silver money by Copeus today. Farewell.'

⁶ κηρών was previously known only from the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ecl.* 737.

⁷ No plausible interpretation of *καηκονος* occurs to me.

⁹ Copreus was an armed guard, *κύμαχος*, known also from the back of 3416 and possibly from the front of that text as well; cf. note to 9 there.

⁹⁻¹⁰ Probably added as an afterthought, to judge from the spacing.

3413. LETTER FROM ISAAC TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.61/C(1-5)b(2)

6 × 18 cm

Fourth century

Little connected sense can still be recovered from this fragment, but it adds to the prosopography of the archive and the missing portion may be recognized some day. It is not clear whether traces of ink on the back are remnants of an address or offsets from elsewhere.

[κυρίω μο]υ ἀδελφῶ Δωροθέω

Ἰσακ.

] δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀλόγως

] ας μὴ ἀπαντήσας

5] εἴθ' ἦνέ σοι, ἄπερ πολ-

] ο κατὰ σοῦ. κὰν ὡς

] τὸ σφάλμα ἀποσω-

] λήσαι ἅμα Φλαβίω

] αυ[. . π]λείςτων

10] ηγι χόρτου μούγια

] ε[. .] ἀπὸ εἰς παν

] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄχρι οὐδ

] τήσεται. ὄρα

] . ληται ἐπεν-

15] ης ἐπὶ τῶ κυμ-

] κισ· ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλη

] . χθη.

(m. 2) ἐρρώσθαί και εὔ-

χομαι.

2 ἴσακ 18 l. σε

3-4 For example, *θαυμάζω σε πολὺ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀλόγως | οὔτως ἡμέλησας.*

10 Presumably *χορ]ηγι* for *χορηγεῖ*.

15-16 The obvious supplement is *κυμ]βαίνοντι*, but there are doubtless other possibilities.

18-19 Written in brown ink, now faded and difficult to make out.

3414. ORDER FROM NN TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(9-12)b

17 × 6 cm

Fourth century

A damaged order similar to 3390-1 and 3405, but addressed to Dorotheus. The papyrus was clipped from a faded document written in brown ink, apparently a sale of some kind. The text is] ἀπὸ ο[²], φω. . . .³] ης καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς⁴ π] ἀρὰ σοῦ μετα-
λημφομένοις⁵], καὶ ἐπάναγκαις (l. -εσ)⁶] κατοχῆς πάσης⁷ ἐπάνα] γκεσ ἀποστήσων (l. -εω)
με⁸] περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς. Lines 2 and 3 stand at about twice the usual distance from
each other, so a short line may be wholly lost between them. A blank space under this
text was then used for a letter written in black ink, the remnants of which do not merit
transcription. On the front side, in a different hand from the main text and upside down
in respect to it, was written a note which may have been intended for *καὶ κρέως*.

] ε Δωροθέω βοθηθῶ χαίρειν.

[παράσχου εἰς ὑπ] ηρ(εσίαν) τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ σπεκουλάτορος [

τέσσα] ρα, κρέως λίτρας τέσσαρες, καθαρὰ εἴκ[οσι

] Τῦβι κς" ἐρ[ρώσθαί σε εὔχομαι]

5

πολ[λοῖς χρόνοις].

'NN to Dorotheus, assistant, greeting. Supply my lord the *speculator* for his needs with (at least) four . . . , four pounds of meat, (at least) twenty loaves of fine bread. I pray for your health for many years. (Year), Tybi 26.'

1 Of those employers whose names we know, Diogenes and Eulogius would do here.

2 For a short bibliography on *speculatores* see BGU XIII 2332, 6 n. Their interest in the *ἐμβολή* of grain is shown by P. Osl. III 88. 19-20 and perhaps CPR V 12, while P. Cair. Isid. 127 attests a *speculator* who served as *ἀπαιτητής* of gold and silver (cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 215-21 n.). This chit is likely to come from a *praepositus pagi*, as we know of no other officials for whom Dorotheus served as assistant. If that is correct, it indicates that the *speculator* held, or could hold, a post superior to that in the taxation hierarchy.

3 Restore e.g. *οἴνου κνίδια τέσσα] ρα*.

4 Tybi 26 = 21 or 22 January.

3415. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO DOROTHEUS AND PARNUTHIS

44 5B.60/C(7-8)b

12 × 27 cm

Fourth century (376?)

Diogenes instructs Parnuthis and Dorotheus to pay a third assistant of his 20 solidi for *χρυσάργυρον* and 4 for 'Constantianopolis', plus the arrears still due from the past 3rd and 4th indictions. This implies that 3415 was itself written in a 5th indiction: AD 346, 361, and 376 are the most probable years. Of these, however, 346 can almost certainly be excluded, as the earliest dated document in which either Parnuthis or Dorotheus appears in public service is 3390, from AD 358. In AD 360 the brothers were employed by Horion (3391-2), in 365 by Eulogius (3393). It is therefore not chronologically impossible that they were serving Diogenes in 361, and indeed it may have been possible to work for two *praepositi* at the same time, but on the whole 376 seems

the most probable date. For Diogenes cf. 3416, perhaps also 3414. The Diogenes mentioned in 3404 is probably a different man.

Χρυσάργυρον was the *collatio lustralis*, the tax on tradesmen introduced by Constantine some time before AD 314 and abolished under Anastasius in 498: the basic treatment is J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1958) 129–37. It is mentioned by name in the papyri in P. Lips. 64 = W *Chr.* 281. 30, PSI VIII 884 and XII 1265, P. Ross.-Georg. V 27. 5 and 28. 7, and P. Erl. 35. 2. The taxes on oil presses and fishermen attested in 3420 and 3423 are further presumably to be subsumed under this heading.

A *Κωνσταντιανόπολις* is not otherwise known and there can be no real doubt that the word is miswritten for Constantinople. In that case the tax will presumably be the same as that referred to in P. Osl. III 88. 10–12, *περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινοπόλεως οὐτε τοὺς κωμάρχας ἀπέστειλας οὐ[τε χ]ρυσόν*. The editor of the text thought that this referred to grain intended for that city, but the implied alternative between sending the comarchs or the gold is easier to explain on the assumption that a money tax was involved (cf. 3397 introd.), and the *ἐμβολή* is in any case mentioned in a different part of the text, 18. The nature of the charge is uncertain, but the mention of an *ἀπαιτητῆς τειρώνων Κωνσταντίνης καὶ Δι[ο]κλητιανοῦ πόλεως* in P. Lips. 55. 1–2 raises a possibility that it may have been *χρυσὸς τειρώνων*.

The back is blank. There are illegible traces above the first line of the printed text, stray ink or offsets from elsewhere.

Διογένης Δωροθέω καὶ
 Παπνουτίω βοηθ(οῖς).
 Εὐδαίμονα τὸν ἡμέτερον βοηθὸν
 ἀπέστειλα ἵνα τὰ εἴκοσι τέσσαρα
 5 νομισμάτια συμπληρώσητε,
 τὰ μὲν εἴκοσι τὰ ἀπὸ λόγου
 τοῦ χρυσαργύρου, τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα
 τὰ ἀπὸ λόγου τῆς Κωνσταντι-
 νοπόλεως· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ
 10 τὰς λοιπάδας τῆς γς καὶ δς
 ἰνδικτιόνων τῶν τε σιτολό-
 γων καὶ κωμαρχῶν. (m. 2 ?) ἔρρω-
 σθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

4 l. ἀπέστειλα; ἵνα 13 ὑμας

'Diogenes to Dorotheus and Papnuthis, assistants. I have sent our assistant Eudaemon so that you can pay the twenty-four solidi, the twenty from the account of the chrysargyron and the four from the account of Constantinople; and in addition (pay) the arrears from the 3rd and 4th indictions, both for the sitologi and for the comarchs. (2nd hand?) I pray for your health.'

3415. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO DOROTHEUS AND PARNUTHIS 123

10–12 *λοιπάδας . . . σιτολόγων*: sitologi were in principle responsible for taxes in grain. Since these arrears are evidently to be paid to Eudaemon in cash they will have been adaerated.

3416. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO PARNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(71–73)a (front)

(a) 8.5 × 17.5 cm

Fourth century

(b) 8.5 × 6 cm

(c. 376?)

Diogenes orders his two assistants to send him the tow that is due to be collected for the *καθολικότης* and the *μαγιστρότης* and to see to it that certain villagers pay the *κύμαχος* Copreus his wages. At this point one or more lines have been lost from the document, which is in two fragments that do not join, so that a further order concerning 'the master of the she-ass' is no longer clear; cf. 17 n.

Μαγιστρότης here can hardly be referred to anything other than the office of the *magister privatae*; it occurs in the same sense in P. Amh. II 138. 11. As this is clearly thought of as something other than the *καθολικότης*, that term must indicate the office of the *rationalis summarum* in charge of the *fiscus*: for these two chief branches of revenue in general see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 78–89. The fact that taxes for both departments are to be collected from the same man, and at the demand of a military officer (11), invites comparison with P. Abinn. 3, in which an *ἐπίτροπος δεσποτικ(ῶν) κτήσεων* writes to Abinnaeus for soldiers to assist in the collection of taxes, whereby he refers to an *officialis* sent by both a *dux* and *τοῦ κυρίου | μου τοῦ διασημο(τάτου) καθολικοῦ* (15–16). It has been thought necessary to identify this *καθολικός* as a *rationalis rerum privatarum*, a post known from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. xiv, 4 and probably XX 2267 6; but it now seems a genuine possibility that the *καθολικός* of P. Abinn. 3 is after all none other than the *rationalis summarum Aegypti*. That the *rationalis summarum* and the *magister rerum privatarum* should co-operate so far as to use the same soldiers to assist in collecting taxes for both offices is in no way surprising: the *comes sacrarum largitionum* had an interest even in the *patrimonium* (*Cod. Theod.* x, 2, 2) and *magistri privatae* are counted among his subordinates in *Not. Dig.*, Or. xiii, 15, while the papyri attest that the *magister privatae* of Egypt also had an interest in the *fiscus*: references in Lallemand, op. cit. 88–9. See further N. Lewis in *JJP* 15 (1965) 157–61.

3415 is another letter from the Diogenes of our text, and 3414 may be from him as well. The tone and subject-matter of the correspondence suggests that he was a *praepositus pagi*. Whether he is identical with the landlord of the same name in 3398 and 3407 is not apparent.

On the back are twenty faded and mutilated lines of a money account. The following entries are representative: ⁸ τῶ γεούχω δι(ὰ) [Κο]πρέως ⁹ συμμάχου νο(μισμάτια) ι', ¹⁰ τῶ γεούχω ὑπ(έρ) λόγου Εὐλογίου[υ] ¹¹ νο(μισμάτια) δ, ¹² κομενταρηζίω νο(μισμάτια) γ, ¹³ τῶ γεούχω δι(ὰ) Θεογνωστου ¹⁴ νο(μισμάτιον) α', '10 solidi for the landlord, through Copreus the armed guard; 4 solidi for the landlord on behalf of Eulogius; 3 solidi for a *commentariensis*; 1 solidus for the landlord through Theognostus'.

(a)

Διογένης Παπνου-
τίου καὶ Δωροθέου
βοηθ(οῦ)ς χ(αίρειν).
αὐτῆς ὥρας δεξάμενός
5 μου τὰ γράμματα τὸ κυ[ππίον]
τῆς καθολικότητος
καὶ τῆ[ς] μαγιστρότη<το>ς
ἀπόστειλον ἐπὶ τὴν
πόλιν ἐν τῇ σήμερον·
10 πάνοι γὰρ ἐνοχλοῦμαι
ὑπὸ Σερήνον τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου).
καὶ ποιήσον τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης
πληρῶσαι Κοπρέαν
15 τὸν σύμμαχον εἰς
τὸν μισθὸν αὐ[τοῦ]

(b)

καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ
τὸν κύριον τῆς οἰκίας
κρατῆσε αὐτὸν ἐστ' ἂν αἰγῶ
20 ἀκούσω τοῦ πράγματος.
(m. 2) ἔρρωσθαι.

1-2 l. Παπνουθίω καὶ Δωροθέω 8 l. ἀπόστειλον 10 l. πάνοι 11 l. Σερήνου
19 l. κρατῆσαι, ἐγὼ 21 l. ἔρρωσθε

'Diogenes to Papnuthis and Dorotheus, assistants, greeting. The very hour that you receive my letter send the tow for the account of the *catholicus* and of the *magister* to the city, today; for I am being much troubled by Serenus, the decurion. And make the villagers pay Copreas the armed guard . . . for his wage . . . and does not let the master of the she-ass take possession of him (it, them ?) till I have heard the case. Farewell.'

4 δεξάμενος: Diogenes writes as though he were addressing only one person in the letter until the closing ἔρρωσθε.

14 Κοπρέαν: this form points to a nominative Κοπρέας, but the possibility should be considered that this may be the same man as the Κοπρέως (gen.) of 3412 9 and/or of 8-9 on the back of this text, cited in the introduction.

18 οἰκίας: here for the first time in the papyri, if the reading is right. Cf. *ἰππίας*.

17 ἐπιτρέψῃ: this should be 3rd person active, the subject being lost in lacuna. The sense is presumably 'see to it that so-and-so obeys and does not let the owner of the she-ass take possession of him (it, them ?) till I have heard the case', or perhaps 'do such-and-such if he raises an argument and does not let' etc. If αὐτὸν, i.e. αὐτὸν or αὐτῶν, in 19 is to be taken seriously, it cannot refer to the she-ass, but to some word lost in the gap between lines 16 and 17.

3417. LETTER FROM MAXIMUS TO PARNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(28-29)a (back)

10 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

Maximus, whom the other side of this papyrus shows to have been headman of the village Leuciu (3422), writes a letter of furious reproach to Papnuthis and Dorotheus: their failure to carry out some piece of business with which their 'brother' Ammonius was concerned has resulted in the latter's hounding Maximus in his village for the last three days. Not enough information is given for us to reconstruct the background to the affair, though some connection with taxation is a natural supposition in the context of these papers. In any case, Dorotheus and Papnuthis are in Maximus' debt, and Ammonius will shortly be back in Oxyrhynchus. The brothers are to see that he does not trouble Maximus again.

The other side contains 3422. That text was written first, or the papyrus would not have found its way into this archive. Maximus is probably to be recognized again in 3428 17, possibly also in 3419 1.

κυρίους μου ἀδελφοῖς Παπνουθίω
καὶ Δωροθέου Μάξιμος.
θαυμάζω ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὴν
πολλὴν πῶς ἀφίετε τὸν
5 ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Ἀμμώνιον
ἐνοχλί<ν> μοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέ-
ραν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκί-
νου. οὔτε οὐκ ἐποιήσατε
αὐτὸ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν οὔτε
10 οὐκ ἐσθάνετε ἀνθρώποις,
ἀλλ' ἀφήκατέ μοι θλίβεσθαι
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔχω μου τὰς
κάκας. οὐκ ἀφήκατέ μοι μετ' αὐ-
τάς; [ν] κἂν ὡς τὸ λυπὸν ἐδέξ-
15 θηται, δώτε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
τὰ αὐτοῦ. μὰ τὴν γὰρ θίαν πρό-
νοια<ν> ἐὰν μὴ διαλύσασθαι
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφίτε μοι
θλίβεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀναβέ-
20 νω ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

2 l. Δωροθέω 3 ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ 5 l. ἡμῶν? 6 l. ἐνοχλεῖν 7-8 l. ἐκείνου 9 l. Θεὸν
10 l. αἰσθάνετε? see note to text 12 l. ἔχω 13-14 ac in αὐτάς corr. from ω 14 l. λοιπόν,
αἰδέσθητε 15 l. δότε 16 l. θείαν 17 l. διαλύσεσθε 18 l. ἀφήτε 19 l. ἀναβαίνω

ποιῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπετεθῆναι
 τὸ πᾶν εἰς μίαν ῥοπήν.
 οὐκ ἐδέεσθηται ὑμῖς ὅτι
 τρία ἔτη σήμερον ἐγὼ χω-
 25 ρηγῶ διάφορον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶ(ν),
 τὸ οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον παρὰ Θε-
 ῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις; τριδὲν ἡμε-
 ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

Left margin:

ρῶν γὰρ σήμερον διακατέχει μοι ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ ἀπ. . γηγε
 . . . ετηνα. . .] μην ταύτην.
 30 ἔρχεται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. μὴ ἀφίτε αὐτόν ἄλλοτε ἔλθιν πρὸς ἐμέ.

21 ὑμας; 1. ἀπαιτηθῆναι 23 1. αἰδεῖσθε; ὑμεις, 1. ὑμεῖς 24-5 1. χορηγῶ 25 ὑπερ ὑμῶ
 26 τὸ = δ 27 1. τριῶν 28 ὑμας; 1. εὐχομαι 29 1. διακατέχει με 30 ὑμας; 1. ἀφίτε, ἐλθεῖν

'To my lords brothers Papnuthis and Dorotheus, Maximus. I am astonished at you beyond all measure how you let our (your?) brother Ammonius trouble me every day about that business. You did not see it through for the sake of God, nor do you show regard for men, but you have let me be pressed by him. I have my troubles too. Did you not abandon me after them? Nevertheless, show some shame in the future, give the man what is his. For by the Divine Providence, if you do not come to terms with him, but let me be pressed by him, I am coming up to the city and having the whole amount collected from you at one go. Are you not ashamed that I have been paying interest for you three years today, which is not just in the eyes of God or man? I pray for your health. (Postscript): For he has been confining me in the village three days today, and so much . . . for he is coming to you. Do not let him come to me another time.'

5 It is possible that this Ammonius is the correspondent of 3419-21, perhaps also the 'father' of Papnuthis mentioned in 3397 27.

9 The referent of αὐτό is apparently πράγματος in line 7. Some more examples of διὰ τὸν Θεόν are collected in P. Herm. Rees 17. 6 n.

10 ἐθάνατε: it seems clear from the context that this is a 2nd person plural, apparently an active by-form of αἰσθάνομαι, though I have found no parallel for such. The meaning seems to be 'you have no sympathy for your fellow human beings', or perhaps 'you have no care for how your behaviour looks to people'.

13 κάκας presumably means 'troubles' here, though that definition is not given in LSJ, s.v. κάκη. The word does not seem to have been found in a papyrus before. It may recur in 3420 25, but τῶν κακῶν there could also come from τὰ κακά.

13-14 μετ' αὐτάς corrected from μετ' αὐτῶν, not vice versa. This may be a statement, 'you did not abandon me' etc., but the following κἄν ὥς clause links more smoothly if it is a rhetorical question.

17 ἐάν μὴ διαλύσασθαι (1. -εσθε): for the use of the indicative after ἐάν in the koiné see Mayser II 1 pp. 284-5; L. Radermacher, NT Grammatik 198-200. But the subjunctive is used in l. 18, unless ἀφίτε there stands for ἀφίετε rather than ἀφίτε.

27 τριδὲν: here begins a postscript added after the ἐρρώσθαι formula had been written. It continues along the side of the papyrus.

29 Much of the surface of the papyrus has been lost near the end of the line.

3418. LETTER FROM NN TO NN

44 5B.60/C(4-5)a

7 × 14 cm

Fourth century

This fragment of a letter is on grounds of style and content likely to belong to our archive, and the hand may be that of Dorotheus or Papnuthis, but as the names of writer and addressee are lost one cannot be sure.

The back is blank.

. [.]
 περὶ τοῦ ἐρ. [.]
 μοι ἵνα ἀπ[.]
 αὐτόν. δήλωσον
 5 μοι καὶ ἀνέρχομαι
 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.
 Θεοῦ γὰρ θέλοτος
 ἀπαντῶ ἐπὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἐν τῇ νευμὶ νί' α,
 10 μόνον γράψον μοι
 τὴν φάσιν.
 ἐρρώσθαι σοι [εὐ]χο-
 μαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

3 ἵνα 8 1. ἀπαντῶ 9 1. νεομηρία 12 1. σε

' . . . me about the . . . that I may . . . him (or, it). Tell me and I will come up to the city; for God willing, I shall get to the city on the first, just write me word. I pray for your health for many years.'

2 It is most probable that the word in lacuna immediately before μοι was γράψον, but then it is very hard to find a suitable masculine noun beginning with ἐρ- that is short enough for the remaining space. ἐρχ[άτου or ἐρ[ί]φου might do, or the name Ἐρχ[έως; but it is perhaps more attractive to seek something along the pattern of εἰ θέλεις λαλῆσαι τῷ δεῖνα περὶ τοῦ ἐρχ[ου, γράψον] μοι ἵνα ἀπ[οστείλω] αὐτόν, 'If you want to speak with so-and-so about the work, write to me and I'll send him'.

3419. LETTER FROM SARAPAMMON TO AMMONIUS

44 5B.63/(66-67)a

16 × 24 cm

Fourth century

Evidently Sarapammon, like Dorotheus and Papnuthis when they accepted work under Eulogius, had borrowed money to meet the immediate demands of superior tax-collectors in the expectation of recovering it later from the peasants from whom it was more properly due. But collections for the fourth indiction ended in the red; Sarapammon has not been able to recover his pledges from his creditors and has been forced to borrow still more money from his 'father' Dioscorus, whom he is particularly

eager to repay. He now writes to Ammonius that he is sending one Dorotheus to him, and requests that the two of them take armed guards and bring in the sums still owing. Whether or not this Dorotheus is the son of Aphynchis, the text was most plausibly written in a 5th indiction of the mid fourth century: AD 346, 361, and 376 are the most probable dates.

The sheet of papyrus had a heavy join, which the writer was hesitant to cross with his pen. Lines 1-6 grow successively longer till 7 reaches normal length; in 12-16 a substantial gap is left between letters on either side of the join, and 17-18 are, like the opening lines, written short in order to avoid crossing it. The heading of an account was written and crossed out before the sheet was used for the letter. For the correspondents see 3420. The transcript was made by Z. Borkowski.

The back is blank.

[[λόγ(ος) Μαξίμου]]

κυρίῳ [μου ἀδ]ελφῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ

Σαραπάμμων χαίρειν.

ἀπήντησεν πρὸς σὲ ὁ ἀδελφός

5 ἡμῶν Δωρόθεος ἀξ[ι]ωθεὶς ὑπ' ἐ-

μοῦ ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀπετηῆσαι τὰς ἐχθέσις

τὰς λοιπαζομένας τῆς τετάρ<της> ἰνδικτίωνος.

οἶδας ὅθι καὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἡ[μ]ῶν ἐξω εἰσὶν

καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Διόσκορος ἐχρησεν ἡμῖν

10 καὶ αὐτὸν θέλομεν πληρῶσαι· διὸ σπουδῆ κοὶ

γερέσθω συνβαλέσθαι αὐτῷ μετὰ καὶ τῶν

συμμάχων ἄχ[ρ]ις οὗ ἂν τὴν ἀ[π]έτησιν ποιή-

σῃ τῆς τετάρτ[η]ς ἰνδικτίωνος· αὐτὸς γὰρ

καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν δύναται εἰδέναι

15 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἠξίωσα αὐτὸν ἀπαντήσῃ

καὶ τὴν ἀπέτησιν ποιήσῃ ἵνα δυνηθῶ-

μεν καὶ Διόσκορον πληρῶ-

σαι καὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἡμῶν ἀνα-

κομισώμεθα. μὴ οὖν ὀκνήσῃς συνβαλέ-

20 σθαι αὐτῷ μετὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἄχρις

οὗ ἂν τὴν ἀπέτησιν ποιήσῃ. ἐρρω-

σθαί σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς

χρόνοις, ἀδελφε.

5 ὑπ αὐτὸς 6 l. ἀπαιτήσαι, ἐκθέσει 8 l. ὅτι 13 ἰνδικτίωνος
16 l. ποιήσαι; ἵνα 21 a in ἂν corrected from τ; l. ἀπαιτήσιν

14 αὐτῶν corrected from

'Account of Maximus' (cancelled).

'To my lord brother Ammonius from Sarapammon, greeting. Our brother Dorotheus has come to you upon my request that he collect the arrears listed as owing for the fourth indiction. You know that our pledges too are overdue (?) and our father Dioscorus has made a loan to us and we want to pay him; so be zealous in co-operating with him together with the guards till he has carried out the collection for the fourth indiction; for he is in a position to know their account and for that reason I have requested him to go and carry out the collection so that we can pay Dioscorus and get back our pledges. Therefore do not hesitate to co-operate with him together with the guards till he has carried out the collection. I pray for your health for many years, brother.'

1 Μαξίμου: possibly the *meizon* of Leuciu known from 3417 and 3422.

8 τὰ ἐνέχυρα . . . ἐξω εἰσὶν: I have found no parallel for this expression and the meaning is not obvious. It cannot be that the pledges are altogether lost, for Sarapammon still hopes to redeem them (18-19). The translation 'overdue' is inspired by LSJ, s.v. II, 'of time, beyond, over', though none of the passages cited there much resembles this one. Perhaps the idea is spatial instead, that they are placed further away from home than Sarapammon would have liked. But the reading may be ἐξ δ<ν> 'you know of what (valuable) things my pledges consist', loss of final nu being so common in this archive, though that would make ὅτι superfluous.

10-11 σπουδῆ κοὶ γερέσθω: for the phrase cf. P. Strassb. 32. 4-5.

11 συνβαλέσθαι: context surely requires not merely 'meet' but 'work together with', though I do not find that definition cited for the word elsewhere. Confusion with συναβέσθαι, perhaps?

12-13 ἀ[π]έτησιν ποιήσῃ: the usual construction would use the middle voice here, requiring the translation 'you make the collection', but 16 shows that this writer can use the active form instead. As the letter elsewhere speaks only of Dorotheus' making the collection, it seems better to take ποιήσῃ as 3rd person active here and in 21.

3420. LETTER FROM AMMONIUS TO SARAPAMMON

44 5B.63/(86-87)a

9 × 26.5 cm

Fourth century

Ammonius writes to his 'patron' Sarapammon in the strongest terms of remonstrance against the latter's omission of crucial information in the letters he sends, a type of carelessness which Ammonius says has led to delays in the tax-collection, unfair time-pressure on the peasantry, and at least one disgruntled letter probably to higher authorities. If Ammonius is indeed Sarapammon's freedman, he speaks to him with remarkable openness; but it is more likely at this time that 'patron' was only a term of respect (cf. CPR V 19. 18-19 note). Sarapammon addresses Ammonius as his 'brother' in 3419.

τῷ δεσπότῃ μου πάτρων

Σαραπάμμων

Ἀμμώνιος.

θαυμάζω ὅπως οὕτω γράφεις μοι

5 μὴ δηλώσας διὰ σῶν γραμμά-

των μήτῃ τὴν τιμὴν εἶνα πρὸ

1-2 l. πάτρωνι Σαραπάμμωνι

4 l. γράφεις

6 l. μήτε, ἵνα

K

τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ οἱ ἄγροικοὶ τὸ ἔ-
 τυμον ἑαυτῶν ποιήσ[υ]εν. ἔπεχε
 μὴ ὕστερον τὸ πᾶν καύσομεν· ἐὰν
 10 γὰρ οὕτως αὐτίς γράψῃς οὐκ ἐπ' ἐ-
 μοὶ τὸ ἔτιον. φθάνει ἄρτι Ἀμμωνια-
 νὸς γράφων εἰς Νεσμίμιν πλα-
 τικῶς. οὕτω γράφ[ις]. ἐδήλωσας
 οὖν διὰ Ἀμόιον ἴδιόν σου ὡς περὶ
 15 κρέως λι(τρῶν) χ' οὐκ ἐδήλωσας
 ἐκ πόσου τῆς λίτρας. καὶ περὶ ἀ-
 χύρου λι(τρῶν) (μυριάδος) α' πάλιν τὴν τι-
 μὴν οὐκ ἐδήλωσας, ἢ ὅτι τὸ
 ἴδος, λέγω δὴ τὸ ἄχυρον, θέλεις
 20 πέμψαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω καὶ
 οἱ ἄγροικοὶ τὰ {υ} αὐτὰ λέγουσι,
 διὰ τὰ γράμματά σου ἢ πᾶσα ἐνε-
 δρία γίνεται. γρ[ά]ψον μοι οὖν τὴν
 τιμὴν ἐκάστου ἴδους. παύσομαι
 25 μετὰ καὶ τῶν κακῶν μου θλιβό-
 μενος. τάχα ὁ κατακλυσμὸς
 ἔρχεται εἶνα ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ τὰ πάν-
 τα πληροῦμεν. ἀπέστειλά σοι Σαρα-
 ηοῦς θυ(γάτηρ) Πausiriou ἔχουσα
 30 ἀποχὴν κρέως λι(τρῶν) κβ' Ἀμμω-
 νιανοῦ· ἰδαὶ ἢ ἐλληματίσθη· εἰ
 μή, ποιήσον αὐτὴν λημματίσθη-
 ναι καὶ γράψον μοι. ἀπέστειλά σοι Ἀμ-
 μωνῶν τὸν πεδιοφύλακα μετὰ
 35 γραμμάτων. ἐὰν ἀπόσχῃς τὰ κά,
 ταῦτόν ποιήσον αὐτὸν πληρῶ-
 και. τὸ ἔριον εἰς τὰ πρόβατα ἐμερί-
 σθη ὅπως ὁ ἀγροφύλαξ πληρῶ-
 και, καὶ ο[ὔ]κ ὀλίγως. ἂ μὲν γράφεις

7 αναγκης 7-8 l. ἔτοιμον 9 ὕστερον 11 l. αἴτιον, φθάνει 13 l. γράφεις
 14 ἴδιον 15 λ 17 λ, ς 19 ἴδος; l. εἶδος, θέλεις 20 l. πόλιν 24 l. εἶδους 27 l. ἵνα
 28-9 l. Σαραηοῦν θυγατέρα (θυ παρ.), ἔχουσαν 30 λ 31 ἰδαί; l. ἰδὲ εἰ ἐλληματίσθη 33 l. ἀπέστειλα
 39 l. γράφεις

40 μοι περὶ [το]ῦ Ζωιλᾶ, οὐκ ἀπέστειλας
 τὴν ἔχθεον αὐτῶν. ἐρρώσθαι
 σε εὐχομαι π[ο]λλοῖς χρόνοις.

Postscript down the left margin:

μὴ ἀμελήσῃς γράψον μοι τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κρέως ὅτι πόσον ἀπαιτοῦσιν τῆς
 λίτρας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀχύρου γράψον μοι. εἴσω
 οὐδὲ τὰ γράμματά μου ἀναγινώσκεις. ποιήσον τὸν πρόεδρον δοῦναι χρυσοῦ
 γράμ(μα) αςδ' ὑπὲρ ἐλαιουργίου κλη(ρονόμων) Σύρου·

Back:

45 ἤδη γὰρ καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ἐλαιούργια ἀπαιτῶ. γράψον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ σήμερον
 τὴν τιμὴν ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν τιμὴν
 τοῦ βουρδῶνος ὅτι πόσου ἐκάστη<ς> ἀρούρης 'καὶ' φθάνει ἵνα πρὸ τῆς
 ἀνάγκης πάλιν βοηθήσουςι.

Address, upside down in respect to the postscript:

τῷ δεσπότη μου πάτρωνι

×	×
×	×
×	×
×	×
×	×
×	×

Σαραπάμμων
 Ἀμμώνιος

40 ζωίλα; l. ἀπέστειλας 43 l. ἔσω 44 l. ἀναγινώσκεις; γραμ', ὑπερ, κλη 46 l. φθάνει;
 αναγκης 47 l. Σαραπάμμωνι

'To my lord patron Sarapammon, Ammonius. I am astonished how you write to me this way not even stating the price in your letter so that the country people can prepare themselves before absolutely necessary. Stop it or we will burn the lot; for if you write this way again the blame will not be on me. Ammonianus has just written at length to Nesmimis, that is the way you write. You told us, then, through your own man Amois about 600 pounds of meat; you did not say how much it was per pound. And concerning 10,000 pounds of chaff again you did not state the price, or that you want to send the item, I mean the chaff, to the city. That is why even the country people say the same thing, the whole delay comes about because of your letters. Therefore write me the cost of each item. I shall have rest from my afflictions together with my troubles. Maybe the flood will come so that we can pay the whole sum in one go. I have sent Pausirius' daughter Saraëous to you with Ammonianus' receipt for 22 pounds of meat. Find out if she has been credited with it; if not, have her credited with it and write me. I have sent Ammonas the field-guard (*pediophylax*) to you with letters; if you have got yours, make him pay the same. The wool (-levy) has been divided up according to sheep, so that the fieldguard (*agrophylox*) pays, and no small sum. As for what you wrote about Zoilas, you have not sent me the list of their charges. I pray for your health for many years. (Postscript) Do not neglect to write me the price of the meat, how much they are collecting per pound, and moreover write to me about the chaff. Maybe you don't even read my letters. Make the chairman pay 1 2/3 grammes of gold for the oil factory that belongs to Syrus' heirs; for I myself am already carrying out the collection on the other oil factories. Write us today the price of each item, and how much the price of the mule amounts to per arura, and hurry, so that they can help again before absolutely necessary. (Address) To my lord patron Sarapammon, Ammonius.'

6-7 *πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης*: the phrase recurs in 46. I can cite no other instance of *ἀνάγκη* in quite this sense, 'last possible moment', but some of the examples in *WB*, s.v. (2) are not far removed from it.

7-8 *τὸ ἐτυμον ἑαυτῶν ποιήσ[ω]ν*: cf. I 123 11-12, *τὸ ἐτοιμον αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι*. For the indicative in final clauses see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 413 and 542-6. Here *ποιήσ[ω]ν* could be read instead of *ποιήσ[ω]ν*, but the indicative is clear in 28 and 46.

9 *μή . . . καύσομεν*: Mandilaras does not cite an instance of a future used as here, so perhaps *καύσωμεν* should be read.

12-13 *πλατικῶς* is not in the *WB* or *Spoglio lessicale*. To judge from the entries under *πλατικός* in *LSJ* the translations 'in general terms' and 'in detail' are both defensible, and the context does not show which is meant here. I think it likely that Ammonianus' letter was one of lengthy complaint directed to some superior of Sarapammon and Ammonius who was staying in the village Nesmimis; but if *πλατικῶς* does mean 'in general terms', then it may rather be that we should place a full stop after *Νεσμίμων* and take the adverb with what follows, i.e., 'Ammonianus has already written to Nesmimis (complaining, or conceivably just asking for clarification of some points), with such lack of detail do you write.'

19 *ἴδος* (= *εἶδος*): used throughout this letter in the technical sense of goods to be collected in kind for taxes.

24-6 *πάνσομαι . . . θλιβόμενος*: if Ammonius thought of *κακά* as enduring for life, this would presumably imply that only death could bring him relief. But in all probability he means nothing more than that a sensible letter from Sarapammon will solve his present difficulties.

28-33 The Ammonianus of l. 11 was presumably involved in tax collection, or he would probably not have responded so actively to the letter that Ammonius complains about. I take it that the same man is meant here: he has collected 22 pounds of meat due from Saraëous, and issued a receipt for the same. Ammonius wishes to be sure that these have been properly credited to her in the taxation lists, which are apparently with Sarapammon.

36 *ταῦτόν*: i.e., 22 pounds of meat, the same as Saraëous?

37-8 *τὸ ἔριον εἰς τὰ πρόβατα ἐμερίσθη*: the collectors evidently knew that a levy of wool would be made before they learned how much would fall on each individual. The total amount to be raised in such levies may well have differed from time to time, and the proportion due from each contributor plainly changed in accord with the number of sheep he owned.

38-9 *ὅπως . . . πληρώσαι*: cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 776. It is not clear to me whether the *ἀγροφύλαξ* of l. 38 is the same or a different man from the *πεδιοφύλαξ* of l. 34.

44 *πρόεδρον*: president of a city council, no doubt that of Oxyrhynchus; see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971) 59-60. It is not clear whether the man mentioned here owed the gold as a private individual or in consequence of his office. City councillors played a role in tax collection in the fourth century, but the details of their responsibility are not well known; see Bowman, *ibid.* pp. 69-77. If the councillor is here functioning as a private citizen, then either he owns the plant in question, and *κλη(ρονόμων) Κύρου* is in effect simply its name; or he has assumed tax responsibility for the property even though it does not belong to him, as guardian of the still under-aged heirs or for some other reason. There is another reference to the government's interest in *ἐλαιούργια* in 3410 10; cf. further *ZPE* 8 (1971) 208, lines 13 ff., and for the pre-Diocletianic period cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton, 1938) 184-7.

45-6 *τιμὴν τοῦ βουρδῶνος*: since this price is to be calculated per arura we are dealing with the tax; cf. 3424 8 n.

46 There seems to be no other subject for *βοηθήσουσι* available than the *ἄγρικοι*.

47-8 For the design cf. 3396 32 n.

3421. LETTER FROM AMMONIUS TO SERAPION

44 5B.63/(68-69)b (front)

11 × 12.5 cm

Fourth century

This letter with its rather florid Christian opening was later trimmed to contain 3402 on its back. Its writer may or may not be the Ammonius of 3419-20; Serapion and Philippus are otherwise unknown. Much of the surface has been very badly rubbed, so that the readings offered are sometimes far from certain.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ

Σεραπίωνι Ἀμμώνιος.

προηγούμενος εὐχομαι

τῷ πανελεήμονι Θεῷ

5 περὶ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς σου

διαθέσεως . . . εὐθυ-

μοῦντά και ἀπ[ο]λαβεῖν [τὰ]

παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματά μου.

καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει σε ἡξίως

10 περὶ τοῦ θρεπτοῦ σ[ο]υ Φιλίπ-

που ὅπως βοηθήσης αὐ-

τῷ και μή ἐάσης Πέτα-

λον στερήσειν. κατ' αὐτοῦ

(traces of 1 line)

7 l. *σε* 9 l. *πόλει* 13 l. *στερήσειν* (?); cf. n.

'To my lord brother Serapion, Ammonius. Before all I pray to the all-merciful God concerning your brotherly attitude that you may receive my letter from me . . . in good spirit. I made a request of you even in the city about your foster-child Philippus, that you should come to his assistance and not allow Petalus to rob him. Against him . . .'

6-7 There is not enough room for the usual *ὀλοκληροῦντα και εὐθυμοῦντα* or any variant thereof that has occurred to me.

13 *στερήσειν* (l. -εν). *κατ' αὐτοῦ*: the articulation appears very harsh. Perhaps one should read *στέρησειν κατ' αὐτοῦ* [*ποιήσεσθαι*] or something of the sort, 'exercise robbery against him'. I have found no close parallel for that phrase, but some of the examples of *κατά*+gen. cited in Maysen II. 2 p. 429 tend to support it. The traces in 14 are too meagre to help.

3422. LETTER FROM APOLLONIUS TO MAXIMUS

44 5B.63/(28-29)a (front)

25.5 × 10 cm

Fourth century

An order from an otherwise unknown Apollonius to Maximus, *μείζων* of Leuciu to supply four knidia of honey 'for the most fortunate day of the crowning', presumably the inauguration of Apollonius or an intimate of his to some public office (cf. e.g. XLIV 3202 with literature there cited. The word used, *στέψις*, does not appear to have any particular religious significance, either Christian or pagan).

The functions of a village *meizon* are not very clear (cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris, 1928, pp. 69-71; P. Corn. 20. 9 n.), but this transaction hardly has the appearance of being official business. It is at least possible that Maximus is in this case acting as a private individual, and that the title here serves only to identify him among the villagers.

On the back is a letter from Maximus to Papnuthis and Dorotheus, 3417.

Ἀπολλώνιος Μαξίμω μίζωνι Λευκίου χ(αίρειν).
 αὐτῆς ὥρας δεξάμενός μου τὰ γράμματα σπούδασον μέλιτος
 ἐπιτηδίου κνίδια τέσσαρα ἀποστίλῃ μοι διὰ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος εἰς τὴν
 εὐτυχεστάτην ἡμέραν τῆς στέψεως, τῆς τιμῆς λογιζομένης
 5 σοι καθὼς δηλοῖς μοι. ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

1 l. μείζωνι 3 l. ἐπιτηδείου, τέσσαρα, ἀποστειλαί

'Apollonius to Maximus, *meizon* of Leuciu, greeting. The very hour that you receive my letter hasten to send me four knidia of satisfactory honey by my messenger for the most fortunate day of the crowning, the price being booked to you just as you instruct me. I pray for your health for many years.'

3 κνίδια of 4, 5, and 8 sextarii are known: see *TAPA* 70 (1939) 6-8.

4-5 τῆς τιμῆς λογιζομένης σοι: linguistically it would seem possible to translate this as 'the price being charged to you', meaning that Maximus himself, from friendship or for some other reason, had agreed to cover the price of honey he delivered. But while it would no doubt be possible to think of circumstances in which a delivery of honey which was effectively a gift would be expressed in such form for record purposes, it seems much more likely that the man who orders the goods also has to pay for them: for this use of *λογίζομαι* cf. e.g. BGU XII 2184. 4 and n.

3423. MEMORANDA

44 5B.60/C(9-10)b

10 × 26 cm

Fourth century

The first five items on this list are introduced with the words *περὶ τοῦ* and apparently contain short summaries of letters sent or received; the last entry contains the imperative 'collect the taxes'. Most probably, then, the whole is an *aide-mémoire* of things to be done, based for the most part on orders received in correspondence. The back contains scattered jottings with amounts in solidi.

περὶ τοῦ τοὺς κωμάρχας
 τῆς Ταμπεμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἀποστ[ε]λαι
 καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Ἡρᾶν καὶ
 5 [. . .] ἀπο χρυσὸν τῆς
 χαρὺβδεως.

περὶ τοῦ τὸν χρυσὸν τῶν
 ἀλιέων ἀπαιτῆσε.

περὶ τοῦ σιππίου τῆς αὐτῆς.

10 περὶ τὸν πάντα τὸν κύτον
 ἀπετῆσε τῆς Ταμπεμοῦ
 καὶ Κατύρου καὶ Κοινοπολίτου
 εἰς τὸ δημοσάριον πλοῖ-
 ον.

15 περὶ τοῦ τ[ό]ν οἶνον τῆς
 Κυνὸ τῶν ἀγρω-
 νῶν ἀπετῆσε.

καὶ τὸ Κατύρου
 ἀπαίτησον τὴν κα-
 20 θολικότητα.

3 l. ἀποστειλαί 8, 11, 17 l. ἀπαιτῆσαι 10 l. περὶ τοῦ 12 l. Κυνοπολίτου 13 l.
 δημοσάριον 16-17 l. τῶν ἀννωνῶν

'About sending the comarchs of Tampemu to the city and Marcus and Heras . . . the gold for the pool. About collecting the fishermen's gold. About the tow of the same (village). About collecting all the grain of Tampemu and Satyru and the Cynopolite nome for the state ship. About collecting the wine for the *annonā* from Cynopolis. And collect the amounts due to the office of the catholicus from Satyru.'

1-3 For instances in this archive of comarchs being 'sent to the city' see 3397 and 3408-9. In those papyri the expectation was that the nome capital, with its prison, presented a favourable environment for persuading reluctant comarchs to pay the taxes due from their villages. That would suit the present text well enough, but of course there may have been other causes for such trips as well.

5 [...]... ατο: το may stand for τὸ <ν> (cf. e.g. 3408 21), though τὸν χρυσόν is spelled correctly in 7. The preceding traces can be read as [Α]πίωνα. If that should be right, the meaning would presumably be 'send Marcus, Heras, and Apion to the city with the gold' or just 'collect the gold from them'.

5-6 χρυσὸν τῆς χαρύβδευς: in XLVI 3269 and 3270 a type of fishing is described as χαρυβδέειν, and it has been suggested that the noun refers to 'a pool of rough water associated with a lock' (P. Collect. Youtie 68. 21-2 n.). The 'gold of the *charybdis*', attested for the first time here, is apparently different from the 'gold of the *halieis*' which follows, but is no doubt like it to be ranked among the trade taxes.

7-8 The 'gold of the fishermen' seems not to have occurred before, but one would in any case have expected fishermen to be subject to the χρυσάργυρον. For earlier taxes on the trade see Wallace, *Taxation* 219-21.

9 τῆς αὐτῆς refers to Tampemu.

12 It is remarkable that the Cynopolite nome here is treated as parallel to Oxyrhynchite villages. Many texts in vol. XVI show a close connection between the two nomes in the later Byzantine period. Taxes for the two are paid together in 1843 and 1909, and in the latter text 'their combined quotas are only 2,000 solidi more than that of Heracleopolis' (1909 introd.). In 2028 contributions for stables at Tacona are collected from Plecin, Sepho, and Cynopolis; the amounts from all three are roughly comparable. Nonetheless, 3398 shows that Cynopolis still had its own boule in the fourth century (though not necessarily still at the time of this text), and it is remarkable to find its taxes collected by Oxyrhynchite officials. Cf. further the single procurator in charge of imperial estates in both nomes in XX 2267. There was also a village named Cynopolis (e.g., BGU XIII 2252. 4), but that was located in the Polemonos meris of the Fayum and cannot be meant in these texts.

13 δημοσάριων: a new word. Du Cange cites δημοσάριος in Greek and *dimossarium* in Latin, defining the latter as 'municipium, burgus respectu castelli, seu burgus qui castello imminet'. If pressed, this might suggest that the boat was owned by the *civitas* rather than the provincial government, but it probably means no more than δημοσίος.

16 Κυνώ: cf. 3398 12 n.

19-20 καθολικότης in the sense of dues owed to the office of the *catholicus* seems to have occurred previously only in 3408 27. In IX 1223 30-1 and possibly 3410 8-9 ἡ καθ' ἑλόν is used synonymously. The first passage understandably puzzled its editors; translate 'one and a half units [i.e., 150,000,000 denarii, see 3402] for taxes owing to the office of the catholicus'. Cf. also P. Osl. III 88. 25, where τὰ εἶδη τῆς καθόλο[υ] should mean 'items owed to the catholicus'.

3424. TAX SCHEDULE

44 5B.63/(54)a

19.5 × 24.5 cm

Fourth century
(c. 357 or 372?)

The closest parallel to this list of taxes and the rates charged per arura for them is XVI 1905, which the editors dated to the fourth or fifth century and A. Déléage would place between AD 311 and 356 (*La Capitation du Bas-Empire*, Mâcon, 1945, p. 73).¹ Unfortunately, 3424 is not concerned with regular taxes collected at normal rates, but is a *προσαίτησις*, a list of charges to be collected over and above the sums that had

¹ R. Rémondon considers a date later in the fourth century more probable (*Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, p. 434), and this has been accepted by J.-M. Carrié in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris, 1977), 383.

already been taken in sometimes for one and sometimes for two indictions. Comparison between 1905 and 3424 is further hampered by the different methods of expression used: 1905, for example, states the number of aruras which must be taxed to yield one cloak for the *vestis collatio*, whereas 3424 states the number of denarii which fell on one arura for the same tax.

The most probable dates for the first indiction mentioned in lines 5 and 7 are AD 357 and 372, indiction 15 referring in either case to the preceding year. On grounds of palaeography alone, AD 342 and 387 could also come into consideration, but those dates fall too far outside the known span of Dorotheus' and Papnuthis' engagement in tax affairs; and while there is no mention of the brothers in the text, the presumption that it was found among their papers is nonetheless very high.

The back contains a short list of names, largely mutilated, headed λόγ(ος) τῶν δοθ(έντων) ὑπ(έρ) ξορτ(ῶν).

προσαίτησις
 ἐκθῆτος τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) λεζ
 ναίλ(ου) θαλαττίων ἐν κομοδίου
 δοθ(έντος) Ἀθανασίου κορνικου(λά)ρης τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) η και
 (τάλαντα) β
 5 ἀδηληγατεύτων ιεζ ἐν(δικτίωνος) και αζ τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες)
 [(τάλαντα)] ξδ
 τῆ ἀμπ(έλω) τῆ (ἀρούρη) α τῶν δύο ἰνδικτι(ώνων)
 ιεζ και αζ τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) υ
 βουρδῶνος τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) ιζ
 τιρωνάτου τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) λζ
 10 β ἰνδικτι(ώνων)
 προσθήκη κρέως και ἀχύρου
 κρέως τῆ λ(τρα) α μυρ(ιάδες) κς, ἀχύρ(ου) τῆ λ(τρα) α μυρ(ιάδες) β
 και τῆν λοιπάδαν τοῦ κρέως και ἀχύρου

4 l. Ἀθανασίω κορνικουλάρη 9 λζ corrected from λεζ (?) 13 κρέως corrected from κρέα και

¹ Additional demand. For clothing, 35 myriads to the arura. Freight on sea-going vessels, including pay given to Athanasius, *cornicularius*, 8 myriads and 2 talents the arura. Taxes not forming part of the *delegatio* for the 15th and 1st indiction, 64 myriads the arura; on vineyards, 400 myriads the arura for the two indictions, the 15th and the 1st. For a mule, 10 myriads the arura. For recruits, 30 myriads the arura for 2 indictions (or, for the 2nd indiction). Surcharge on meat and chaff: on meat, 26 myriads to the pound, on chaff 2 myriads the pound. And the arrears of meat and chaff.

¹ *προσαίτησις* appears to be new in the papyri, though the verb *προσαίτέω* is common enough. Read *προσαίτης(ε)ς*, perhaps, but the change hardly seems necessary.

2 ἐσθήτος: a charge to provide clothing for the army, see above all Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 112-17. In PSI VII 781. 4 (AD 341) the amount charged was only 175 denarii per arura, that is, $\frac{1}{2000}$ the supplement to be collected here. XVI 1905 3-6 gives the calculation in kind as 1 *chlamys* per 243 aruras, 1 *sticharion* per 175 aruras, 1 *ballion* per 1,925 aruras, and an extra $\frac{1}{12}$ *sticharion* of linen per *chlamys*. A law of AD 377 set the *annua vestis collatio* for Egypt as collectable per thirty *iuga*, and authorized an *adaeratio* for the charge (*Cod. Theod.* vii 6, 3). That does not provide a terminus post for this text, however, as the possibility of *adaeratio* is already attested in P. Cair. Isid. 72, from AD 314. See further on l. 9.

3 ναύλ(ου) θαλαττίων: see P. Cair. Isid. 59. 4 n., P. Princ. Roll IX 4 n. In XVI 1905 9 the rate for sea-freight is 1 solidus per 243 aruras. For other relevant texts see A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton, 1949) 160-3.

κομοδίου (l. -φ): cf. XLVII 3358 4 and n.; Du Cange, s.v. *κόμοδα*, 'apud Suidam, & in Glossis Basilic. *δόσις ἐπὶ τοῦ κειμοῦ παρεχομένη*. Ubi *κειμοῦ* legunt viri docti.'

4 The *cornicularius* was the head of a military clerical staff. It is possible that the money was not designated for Athanasius himself, but was to be turned over by him to the appropriate ships' captains.

5 ἀδηληγατεύτων: not attested elsewhere. Presumably these are taxes that did not form part of the *delegatio*, perhaps minor levies for local purposes.

8 βουρδάνος: in XVI 1905 7 the rate charged to purchase mules for the army is 1 gramme of gold per $46\frac{1}{2}$ arouras. The only other reference to the tax not already in Daris, *Lessico latino*, appears to be 3420 45-6.

9 τιρώνάτου: the word is found again in PSI XIII 1366. 7. There is a good discussion of *aurum tironicum* in Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 119-23; some further bibliography is cited by A. Cérati, *Caractère annonaire et l'assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1975), 15 n. 61. One notes that the taxpayer here is charged an amount of silver currency while the government demanded gold. It was the middleman's responsibility to get the latter; cf. 3401. A similar situation no doubt prevailed in respect to various taxes in kind such as the *vestis collatio*, seeing that the fractions of cloaks for which most taxpayers would be responsible according to the schedule in 1905 are by nature incapable of delivery in kind. This raises the possibility that *Cod. Theod.* vii 6, 3, which permits an *adaeratio* on *vestis militaris* long after money payments for the charge had been regularly accepted, means that from that time on money collected from the taxpayers could be delivered directly to the state, whereas tax-collectors had previously been obliged to purchase clothing with the money they took in on that account.

10 β ἰνδικτι(ώνων): I have assumed that this means the 15th and the 1st indictions, as in ll. 5 and 7, but β ἰνδικτι(ωνος), 'for the 2nd indiction', is also possible.

3425. LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

44 5B.63/(17-19)a (front)

9.5 × 27.5 cm

c. 359-365

This short text issuing from the *praepositus* Eulogius lists the same commodities as XVI 2048 and is written in a format similar to that document and 2047. The purpose of 2048 is not stated in the preserved portion of the text, but 2047 is a list of goods supplied to two *singulares*, so the items set out in 3425 may also have been designated for government personnel of some sort. Cf. the orders issued by *praepositi* that their assistants should furnish visiting *officiales* of their superiors with various supplies in 3391 and 3414. On the back is 3426.

οἴνου Ὁασιτικοῦ

σπάτια δ,

ἐντοπίου κερ(άμια) δ.

καθαρῶν (ἀρτάβη) α.

5 δέλφαξ α.

ὄρνεα δ.

c. 5 cm blank

π(αρά) Εὐλογίου πραι(ποσίτου)

κώμης Τερύθειας.

2 l. σπάτια

'4 spathia of wine from the Oasis, 4 ceramia of wine produced locally, 1 artaba of fine bread, 1 pig, 4 fowls. From Eulogius *praepositus*, for the village Terythis.'

1 οἴνου Ὁασιτικοῦ: products of an Oasis mentioned up to now in the papyri are oil (PSI III 203. 5), garlic (PCZ III 59299. 6 and 7), ochre (XXXI 2567 20), and something called a *κούκλιον* (X 1300 9-10), in addition to the wine attested here and in XVI 2048 1. It is uncertain which oasis is meant in the PCZ papyrus, but as the other texts all come from Oxyrhynchus one presumes that these refer to the neighbouring Ὁασις Μικρά.

7-8 For Eulogius see 3393 introd. The phrase πραι(ποσίτου) κώμης Τερύθειας need not indicate that there were *praepositi* at a village level, but only that Eulogius, as *praepositus* of the fourth pagus, was the *praepositus* responsible for Terythis. Cf. perhaps P. Abinn. 39. 3-4, where πραιποσίτω τῆς Διονυσιάδος means simply the *praepositus* of the *ala* stationed there. It would also be possible to construe κώμης Τερύθειας apart from πραι(ποσίτου), that is, 'from Eulogius the *praepositus*, commodities collected as the contribution from Terythis', and that view may indeed be preferable, as it raises no further problems of interpretation.

3426. MONEY ACCOUNT OF DOROTHEUS THE WINE-MERCHANT

44 5B.63/(17-19)a (back) 9.5 × 27.5 cm Fourth century

Two thousand two hundred and fifty myriads of denarii received from the sale of a solidus are expended on food and clothing or turned over to various persons. The question arises whether the Dorotheus of 2, the ἐμοί of 13, is also the Dorotheus of 8 and 11-12, and whether either or both are identical with Dorotheus the son of Aphynchis. On the whole it seems unlikely that the correspondence of Dorotheus in the rest of the archive would have contained no reference to wine-selling if Dorotheus had in fact exercised that business as well as tax-collecting, but there is no decisive evidence either way.

On the other side is 3425.

πα
 λόγ(ος) Δωροθέου οἰνοπράτη
 ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) νο(μισματίου) α (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) Ἰβεν
 ἀναλώμ(ατος) οὕτως·
 5 τι(μῆς) κυκίων β (δην.) (μυρ.) ςμ
 ὁμοίος τι(μῆς) ἐπθοῦ α (δην.) (μυρ.) ρε
 Ψύρου ἀδελφ(οῦ) (δην.) (μυρ.) ρ
 Δωροθέου εἰς χίρα (δην.) (μυρ.) υ
 Ἰσιδώρου ἀθλητῆ (δην.) (μυρ.) υ
 10 τι(μῆς) στιχ(αρίων) λωῶν (δην.) (μυρ.) υξε
 τῶ αὐτῶ Δωροθέου εἰς χίρα (δην.) (μυρ.) ξγ
 ὁμοίος τῶ αὐτῶ (δην.) (μυρ.) τ
 ἐμοὶ καὶ Παπνουθίου (δην.) (μυρ.) ροζ

c. 15 cm blank

5 l. κυκίων 6 l. ὁμοίως, ἐπθοῦ 7-9, 11, 13 l. dative 8, 11 l. χείρας 12 l. ὁμοίως

81 (?). Account of Dorotheus, wine-merchant. From the price of a solidus, 2,250 myriads of denarii. Expenditure as follows: price of 2 cucumbers, 240 myr. den. Price of 1 portion of cooked meat likewise, 105 myr. den. For Psyrus, brother, 100 myr. den. Handed over to Dorotheus, 400 myr. den. For Isidorus, athlete, 400 myr. den. Price of linen tunics, 465 myr. den. Handed over to the same Dorotheus, 63 myr. den. Likewise to the same man, 300 myr. den. For myself and Papnuthis, 177 myr. den.'

1 What I have doubtfully read as a numeral here may be no more than a meaningless offset of ink (the same is true of β and α in 5 and 6). Not the π' which often heads late Byzantine documents.

2 οἰνοπράτη: for the late genitive form cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Münchener Beiträge* 28 (1938) 130 n. 1.

3 To judge from other prices of gold coins from the period, 2,250 myriads may well have been the full value of the solidus here, as it was in P. Osl. III 88. 19, but the use of ἀπό may mean that the total price was higher. Cf. 3401 6 n.

3427. MONEY ACCOUNT

44 5B.63/(60-62)b 9 × 18.5 cm Fourth century

There is no indication that this text forms part of the papers of Dorotheus and Papnuthis, but it is of interest for the mention of thirty talents collected for πρόσκαιρα (cf. 3392) and expended on the repair of boats. It further contains the only reference to an epoikion named Phlou.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Ὁρου Πανσίριος
 οἰκῶν ἐν ἐποικίῳ Φλοῦ
 ὑπ(έρ) προσκέρων ἀρ(γυρίου) (τάλαντα) λ.
 (m. 2) Θῶθ κα
 5 (ῶν) ἐδόθησαν Ἀπίωνι βοθητῶ
 στρατηγῶ ὑπέρ ἐπισκευῆς
 πλοίων, γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) λ.
 c. 5 cm blank
 (m. 3?) Σαραπάμμων (τάλ.) λβ
 Δι[ον]ύσιος (τάλ.) οα
 10 [. . .]λλαδιον (τάλ.) οα

2 l. οἰκοῦντος, ἐποικίῳ 3 l. προσκαίρων

'From Horus, son of Pausiris, resident of Phlou farmstead, for occasional charges, 30 talents of silver. (2nd hand) Thoth 21. Of these 30 talents were given to Apion, assistant of the strategus, for the repair of boats. (3rd hand?) Sarapammmon 32 tal., Dionysius 71 tal., NN 71 tal.'

4 Thoth 21 = 18 or 19 September.

8-10 These lines are not written in the second hand, but may be in the first rather than in a third. In any case, the connection with the rest of the text remains unclear. The men may be taxpayers like Horus, and the sums the amounts they paid, but that is only a guess.

3428. TAX LIST

44 5B.60/C(15)a

18 × 29 cm

Fourth century

A list of persons responsible for parcels of land, followed by a record of sums of money received on various accounts. Among the latter is an *adaeratio* on the wax levy (see 3412) and on woad due to the office of the catholicus.

It is possible that this text was drawn up in an office where Papnuthis or Dorotheus was employed, and was taken home by one of them for use as scrap paper, but there is no proof of that and the document may not belong to the archive. Nonetheless, 'Maximus from Leuciu' (17) seems likely to be the headman of 3417 and 3422.

The names *Ἀμουνουός* (1. 2), *Κορνηλίων* (3), *Ὠριγενίης* (4), *Μαρτύριος* (11), and *Ῥίων* (15) are not recorded in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

Παρίωνι τραπεζίτη (ἄρουραι) λαϛd/

Ἀμουνουός Ψεναμούνιος (ἄρ.) ζς/

Καραηουός Κορνηλίωνος (ἄρ.) ιδςd/

Ὠριγενίης Καραπίωνος (ἄρ.) ης/

5 δι(ἀ) Χωουός πραγματευτήε ἐν τῷ Μύτρων

αἰ (πρότερον) Θεοδ() Κοπρέου (ἄρ.) νηςd/

δι(ἀ) Κολλούθου βωηθ(οῦ) Θεοδούλου

Πομπεία Ἡλιοδώρα (ἄρ.) ρις

δι(ἀ) γεωργ(ῶν) Λευκίου

10 Φλ(άουιος) Βαρβάτιος (ἄρ.) ξαζ

δι(ἀ) Μαρτύριος βωηθ(οῦ) Γεροντίου

Θερμούθιον θ[v]γ(άτηρ) Διοσκόρου (ἄρ.) λαιςλβ

Εὐλογί[α] θυγ(άτηρ) Ἀθηνοδώρου (ἄρ.) νς

Ἀμωνάριον γ[v]ν(ῆ) Ἀπίωνος οἰελά (ἄρ.?) ρd/

15 ὑπ(έρ) Ῥίωνος ἀπὸ Π[. . .] εἰου (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ψογ

ὁμοίος ὑπ(έρ) ναύλ(ου) κίππιου καὶ τι(μῆς) κηροῦ (δην.) (μυρ.) χνδ

καὶ ὑπ(έρ) Μαξίμου ἀπὸ Λευκίου (δην.) (μυρ.) [[τμζ]] κμθ

Ἀλεξούτος (δην.) (μυρ.) τνζ'

ἐρίου καὶ ἰάτεως καθολικότητος

20 ὑπ(έρ) Ὠρίωνος (δην.) (μυρ.) ρξς

Back:

Ὠρίων βωηθ(ός) Θεοδούλου (δην.) (μυρ.) κκε

5 πραγ'ματευτης; 1. Χωουός πραγματευτοῦ 7, 11 l. βωηθου 12 ρ of Θερμούθιον corr. from α?
14 l. ἰελά? 15 ν? 16 l. ὁμοίως; ναυλ 21 l. βωηθός

'Parion the banker, 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ aruras. Amunus daughter of Psenamunis, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ar. Saraëous daughter of Cornelion, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ ar. Horigenies son of Sarapion, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ar. through Choüs, agent in Mytron. Formerly belonging to Theod() son of Copres, 58 $\frac{3}{4}$ ar. through Colluthus, Theodulus' assistant. Pompeia Heliadora, 116 ar. through the cultivators at Leuciu. Flavius Barbatius, 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ ar. through Martyris, the assistant of Gerontius. Thermuthion daughter of Dioscorus, 31 $\frac{3}{8}$ ar. Eulogia daughter of Athenodorus, 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ ar. Ammonarion wife of Apion, glass-man (?), 90 $\frac{1}{4}$ ar. For Rhion from . . . , 773 myriads of denarii. Likewise for freight charges on tow and for the price of wax, 654 myr. den. And for Maximus from Leuciu, 249 myr. den. For Alexis, 357 myr. den. For wool and woad to the account of the catholicus, for Horion, 166 myr den. (Back): Horion, assistant of Theodulus, 225 myr. den.'

5 τῷ Μύτρων: with τῷ understand ἐποικίω, κτήματι, or a similar word. The locality was not known before.

9 Λευκίου is of course a personal name as well, but here the village will be meant.

14 After the names the writing is heavily inked and may be in a second hand. At any rate it has the appearance of having been added later. The letters οἰελα probably represent ἰελά, gen. of ἰελάε, a maker or seller of glass. The word is not attested, but the papyri have produced numerous new terms for tradesmen formed with the same suffix, see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, I 49-50. For οἰ representing υ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 198-9.

15 The village name may be some version of Παγγουλείου.

18 Ἀλεξούτος: a village of this name is known from VII 1052 6, 16, and 27, but here an individual could be meant.

19 ἐρίου καὶ ἰάτεως: cf. the list of villages supplying these two items in VII 1052. For mentions of ἰάτεως in papyri see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 85-95. Woad owing to the *ratio privata* was known from SB X 10264 as recited in *ZPE* 17, 91-5. That it was also due the catholicus is hardly surprising, though the fact was not attested before.

21 There was more than ample space free for this note to have been added to the list on the front of the papyrus, so it may refer to some quite different matter.

3429. MONEY ACCOUNT

44 5B.60/C(17-19)a(b)

14 × 19 cm

Fourth century

There is no particular reason to count this damaged list of moneys received and paid out among the papers of Papnuthis and his brother, but it contains another mention of Dorotheus the wine-merchant, some prices of tow and of solidi, and a previously unattested village name.

].c []
 κ]ριθ(ῆς) ἀ(ρτάβαι) γ []
]- ὑπ(ἐρ) τι(μῆς) χόρτου []
 ε]ῖς χίραυ []
 5] Ἀματίου []
] ἐνάτης []
] Παιπνουθίου ὑπ(ἐρ) Κάκτωρ ἀπὸ Βτώ []
 Διο]νύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ λόγου πιτακίου (τάλαντα) ρ.β
 ... λος Ἴσακ ἀπὸ πιτακίου πρὸς Ὠρίων (τάλ.) ὦ
 10 ... τας πρεσβυτέρου ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Δωροθέου
 οἰνοπράτη (τάλ.) Ἡυξς
 ... αξαπιτος ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Ὠρίων (τάλ.) ὚
 [[π(αρά) Κ]οπρέους Θωνίου ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Ὠρίων (τάλ.) [[.]]]
 καὶ π(αρά) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καρμάτη κυππίου δέ(μαι) μβ ἐκ (ταλάντων) τν,
 (γίνονται) (ταλάντων) (μυριάς) α Ὀψ
 15 καὶ π(αρά) Ἀπολλῶς Διονυσίου πρὸς Δωροθέου καπήλου (ταλ.) Ὀω
 [καὶ π(αρά) Κ]οπρέους Θωνίου ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τῶν χειριστῶν
 τοῦ νομισμ(ατίου) (τάλ.) ὚
 [καὶ π(αρά) [...]] οὐς Ἀφοῦτος χρυ(σοῦ) νομισμ(ατίου) α, (τάλ.) Ὤτ
 [καὶ π(αρά)] Καρμάτου εἰς συμπλήρουσιν τι(μῆς) νομισμ(ατίων)
 20 ...] ντων π() τῶν χειριστῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κόμης (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β ὚
 Back:] (τάλ.) .[]
] (τάλ.) φ
] (τάλ.) φ

c. 4 cm blank

25] ὑπ(ἐρ) νομισμ(ατίου) α (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) Ὀτμξ
] (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) λ

4 l. χείρα
 12, 13 l. Ὠρίωνα
 20 l. χειριστῶν

7 l. Κάκτωρ 9 Ἴσακ; 1. Ὠρίωνα 10-11 l. Δωροθέον οἰνοπράτην
 15 l. Ἀπολλῶτος, Δωροθέον καπήλον 16 l. χειριστῶν 19 l. συμπλήρωσιν

'3 artabas of barley . . . for the price of hay . . . into his hand . . . of Amatius . . . ninth . . . (NN, son of) Papnuthius, for Castor from Bto . . . Dionysius son of Apollonius, from the account of the farming association, 1(.).2 talents, NN son of Isak from the farming association to Horion, 800 talents, NN the elder from the farming association to Dorotheus the wine-merchant, 8,466 talents, NN from the farming association to Horion, 6,000 talents, from Copreus son of Thonius from the farming association to Horion . . . talents (*cancelled*), and from the same Sarmates 42 bundles of tow at 350 talents apiece, total 14,700 talents, and from Apollon son of Dionysius to Dorotheus the shopkeeper, 3,800 talents, and from Copreus son of Thonius, in accord with a release from the assistants, 6,000 talents for the solidus, and from NN son of Aphas 1 gold solidus, i.e. 8,300 talents, and from Sarmates, 27,200 talents to make up the price of solidi . . . the assistants in the village . . . talents . . . 500 talents . . . 500 talents . . . 3,245 myriads of denarii for 1 solidus . . . 900 myriads of denarii.'

7 Βτώ has not occurred previously. Metathesis for Τβώ?

8 πιτακίου: usually spelt with two τ's. For a short bibliography on these agricultural associations see P. Clair. Isid. 24. 1 n. The figure at the end of the line was 152 or 182.

9 πρὸς Ὠρίων: πρὸς presumably means either that the money in question was credited to Horion's own dues, or that it was paid to him for further delivery to tax officials. In the former case Horion is likely to have been a pittakiarch, in the latter a field-worker connected with a tax office. The presence of an οἰνοπράτης and a κάπηλος among the men whose names stand after πρὸς does not seem decisive either way.

10 For Dorotheus the wine-merchant cf. 3426 2. I am not sure whether καπήλου in 15 is intended to distinguish the Dorotheus there from the man here, or is simply a less precise term for οἰνοπράτης.

12 Possibly Ἰέραξ Ἀπιτος.

16 ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τῶν χειριστῶν: I do not find a definition of ἀπόλυσις which is obviously suitable here in LSJ or the WB. It apparently means 'authorization' or 'permission': SB VI 9024. 10 f. is parallel (ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τοῦ γεούχου), and the use in P. Collect. Youtic 28. 8, 10, and 15 is very close. For the corresponding use of the verb see BGU XIII 2348. 3 note, and cf. the diminutive ἀπολυσιδίων.

17 Before νομισμ(ατίου), τοῦ seems marginally better than ὑπ(ἐρ) τι(μῆς). The amount paid, 6,000 talents, equals 900 myriads of denarii. To judge from other prices of solidi which occur in texts of this period (see 3401 6 n.), that is probably only an instalment on a higher price.

19 I have written the plural νομισμ(ατίων) on the assumption that -ντων in the following line stands in agreement with the word abbreviated here. A price of 27,200 talents (= 4,080 myriads of denarii), though perhaps not out of the question as the price for one solidus, would certainly be a very high price for one, and that so much should be only an instalment is hardly credible.

20 Two possibilities are δρ[θέ]ντων π(ρὸς) and πρρ[θέ]ντων π(αρά).

3430. LETTER FROM DIDYMUS TO THEODOTUS

2 1B.105/D(a)

8 × 27 cm

Fourth century

This lively letter of complaint concerning one Asion and others who have allowed a vineyard to fall into neglect is not part of the Papnuthis-Dorotheus papers, but it evidently belongs to the same general milieu. If threats of torture in lines 24 f. and 32 can be taken literally, both correspondents must have held official positions of some responsibility: cf. the imprisonings, real and prospective, in 3397 and 3409. As in much of the Papnuthis correspondence as well there is no address. There are illegible scatterings of ink on the back.

L

[κυρίῳ μου υἱῷ] Θεοδότῳ

[Διδύμῳ].

...[...]. Ἀσίῳ τὴν τύχην

ἑαυτοῦ ἐχλεύασεν καὶ οὐχὶ

5 τὴν ἐμὴν ἑάσας τὸ χωρίον

εἰς ἔρημον· ἀρκεσθεῖς γὰρ ὑπὲρ

τῆς γυναικὸς δίγνου ὡστε

τὰ τέκνα ἀγῆς ἐνέγκαι

εἰς ἀμπελουργίαν τοῦ χωρίου.

10 εἰδὼς οὖν ὅτι χρεία μοῦ

ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως

μάλιστα διὰ τὰ δημόσια

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, σπούδασον κα-

τ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥοπήν καταναγ-

15 κάσει Ἀσίῳνα ὥστε τὴν

παράστασιν τῆς γυναικὸς

ποιῆσαι μετὰ καὶ τῶν τέ-

κνων αὐτῆς. καὶ τὸν γαμ-

βρόν δὲ ἀπόστειλον ἅμα

20 αὐτῶν πρὶν τοῦ με τὴν

ὀρμὴν ποιῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν

πόλιν ἵνα δυνηθῶ τυπῶ-

σαι τὸ χωρίον κατὰ λόγον

πρὶν ὀδεῦσαι. μετὰ στρε-

25 βλώσεως οὖν ἀπόστειλον

Ἀσίῳνα ἅμα αὐτῶν.

(m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι

πολλοῖς χρόνοις

29 κύριέ μου υἱέ.

(m. 1) [[παράσχου Ἰσακ Φανβαρτόν

εἰς συνπλήρωσει<ν>]]

Along the left side:

μετὰ στρεβλώσεως μεθόδευσον Ἐρμίαν τὰ δύο διπλᾶ Ἀθανασίου ἐπικου[

7 l. δείκνυ or δεικνύου 10 l. χρεία 14-15 l. καταναγκάσαι 19 l. ἀπόστειλον 22 ἵνα
25 l. ἀπόστειλον 30 ἰσακ

'To my lord son Theodotus, Didymus. . . . Asion has made a mockery of his own fate, not of mine, by letting the plot go to desert; for, once you are satisfied about the woman, announce that she is to bring her children to do the vineyard work of the plot. Knowing, then, that there is need of me in the city, especially because of the public dues, and other things as well, hasten this very moment to force Asion to make the woman and her children put in an appearance. And send the son-in-law with them before I start out for the city so that I can assign (?) the plot properly before going. So torture Asion and send him here with them. (2nd hand) I pray for your health for many years, my lord son. (1st hand, cancelled): Supply Isak Phanbartos for the completion. . . . (on the left side): Use torture to collect from Hermias the double-jars of Athanasius. . . .'

3-4 τὴν τύχην ἑαυτοῦ ἐχλεύασεν: cf. P. Laur. II 43. 10-11, ἐχλεύασατε οὐκ ἐμὲ ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦς; PSI V 481. 9, χλευάσας ἑαυτόν. Preisigke translates the last passage 'benahm sich frech' (*WB*, s.v.), but perhaps it means rather 'spoiled things for himself'.

6-7 ἀρκεσθεῖς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς: i.e., once you have surety for her? It seems likely that the woman referred to is Asion's wife.

22-3 τυπῶσαι τὸ χωρίον: the closest parallels to this expression that I have been able to find are P. Giss. 54. 14, τυπῶων (sic) τὸν εἶτον τὸ<ν> δημόσιον τῆς κτήσεως ἡμῶν and SB VI 9376. 3-4, τυπῶσαι αὐτοῖς τρία ζῶα. According to the editor of the second text, 'In both cases an object is reserved for a predetermined end either by a mark put on it or a note written about it in some ledger' (*JEA* 40, 1954, 75). The second procedure would be applicable to a plot of land, but just what is meant here is not clear to me.

24-5 στρεβλώσεως: so also in 32. The word can now be recognized in P. Mert. I 45. 4, where στρεβλ[ώσε]ως is to be read. Cf. further P. Tebt. III(1) 789. 15 n. and the mention of αἰκία in 3409 21. In this context, however, one may doubt whether μετὰ στρεβλώσεως is really more than a livelier expression for πᾶν ποίησον.

30 Φανβαρτόν: not in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*. Other possible word divisions would produce Φανβάρ τόν, Φάνβ ἄρτον, Φάν βάρτον (for βάρδον, 'mule'?), but none of this is particularly convincing. The dotted α could be read as ε, perhaps also as ι.

INDEXES

Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. The article is not indexed, nor is *καί* in the documentary texts.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

MENANDER, *Misoumenos* (3368–3371)

The A prefixed to line nos. has been omitted in 3368 fr. C (it does not apply). P = PIFAO inv. 89.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p> <i>ἄγειν</i> 3368 B ii 93?
 <i>ἀεί</i> 3368 [A i 8 ?], B ii 100?
 <i>ἀηδής</i> 3368 B ii 91
 <i>ἄθλιος</i> 3368 A i 4 P 4
 <i>αἰρετός</i> 3368 A i 13 3369 i 13 P 13
 <i>αἰσχύνεσθαι</i> 3368 B i 41 3369 i 41
 <i>αἰτία</i> 3368 B ii 96
 <i>αἰχμάλωτος</i> 3368 B i 37 3369 i 37 3370 37
 <i>ἄκρος</i> 3368 B ii 91? 3369 ii 91?
 <i>ἀλλά</i> 3368 B ii 88, 91, 93, [100?] 3369 i [26?],
 30, 42, ii 93? 3370 30, 42
 <i>ἄλλος</i> 3368 A i 4
 <i>ἀλύειν</i> 3368 C 2?
 <i>ἀμελεῖν</i> 3368 B ii 92
 <i>ἀμφότερος</i> 3368 A i 8?
 <i>ἄν</i> 3368 A i 11, ii 55?, B ii 88?, 90, [98?], C [3?],
 [8?] 3369 i 42? P 11
 <i>ἀναγκαῖος</i> 3368 B ii 96
 <i>ἀνθρώπινος</i> 3368 B i 44 3369 i 44
 <i>ἄνθρωπος</i> 3368 A i 4, ii 56? P 4
 <i>ἄνομος</i> 3368 B ii 100?
 <i>ἄνω</i> 3368 A i 7 P 7
 <i>ἀπαίρειν</i> 3369 i 33? 3370 33?
 <i>ἀπεύχεσθαι</i> 3369 i 42?
 <i>ἀπιέναι</i> 3368 C 3
 <i>ἀπό</i> 3368 A i 8? 3369 i 25
 <i>ἀποδεικνύναι</i> 3368 B i 39 3369 i 39 3370 39
 <i>ἀποκναίειν</i> 3369 i 21
 <i>ἀποκρύπτειν</i> 3369 i 42?
 <i>ἀπολλύναι</i> 3368 A i 18?, B ii 95? 3369 i 18?
 <i>Ἀπόλλων</i> 3368 C 4?
 <i>ἄρα</i> 3368 A i 4, 5
 <i>ἄστραπή</i> 3368 A ii 51 3369 i 51
 <i>ἄτοπος</i> 3369 i 44?
 <i>αὐτός</i> 3368 A ii 52 3369 i 23
 <i>Ἀφροδίτη</i> 3368 A i 1 P 1 </p> | <p> <i>βαδίζειν</i> 3368 A ii 53 3369 i 53
 <i>βλάβη</i> [3368 B ii 92?]
 <i>βούλεσθαι</i> 3368 A i 11 3369 i 24?
 <i>βροντή</i> 3368 A ii 51

 <i>γάρ</i> 3368 A i 1, 10, ii 53, B ii 90, 100? 3369 i
 28?, 31, 33, 44 3370 31, 33
 <i>γε</i> 3368 B ii [55?], [90?], 91, 98 3369 i 19?, 29?
 <i>Γετ()</i> 3369 i 20–1, ii 82 3370 41–2
 <i>Γέτας</i> 3368 C 2 3369 i [23?], 26
 <i>γυνή</i> 3368 A ii 55? 3369 i 40 3370 40

 <i>δέ</i> 3368 A i 12 (<i>bis</i>), [B i 36?], A ii 52, B ii 86?, 98?,
 C 3? 3369 i 16, 23?, 34? P 12 (<i>bis</i>)
 <i>δεικνύναι</i> 3368 B ii 97?
 <i>δεῖν</i> 3368 A ii 53, B ii 95
 <i>δεῖνα</i> 3368 A ii 54
 <i>δεινός</i> 3369 i 29
 <i>δέσποινα</i> 3368 B i 39? 3369 i 39?
 <i>δεσπότης</i> 3368 A i 16, B ii 97?, 98 3369 i 16
 <i>δή</i> 3368 A i 1, 15?, ii 55
 <i>διά</i> 3369 i 32 3370 32
 <i>διατρέβειν</i> 3369 i 19?
 <i>διατρέβη</i> 3369 i 19?
 <i>διδόναι</i> 3369 i 40?
 <i>διηγείσθαι</i> 3368 B ii 98
 <i>δοκεῖν</i> [3369 i 45?]
 <i>δρύινος</i> 3369 i 18
 <i>δύσποτος</i> 3368 A i 5 P 5
 <i>δυστυχής</i> 3369 i 20

 <i>ἐάν</i> [3369 i 30?]
 <i>ἐγείρειν</i> 3369 i 22
 <i>ἐγώ</i> 3368 A i 6, 10 (<i>bis</i>), 12, ii 54, B ii [85?],
 [86?], C [4?], 6 3369 i 18?, 21, 22, [30?],
 42?, 43 3370 42? P 12 </p> |
|---|---|

ἐγωγε 3368 B ii 88 3369 i 42? 3370 42?
 εἰ 3369 i 22
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